VOTIVA TABULA;

OR,

A Solemn Thankſgiving offered up to God the mighty Protector of Kings, for the wonderful Protection, and happy Reſtauration of our *GRACIOUS SOVERAIGN*

CHARLS the II.

Unto the Exerciſe of his juſt Right and Authority of Governing His Three *KINGDOMS* of

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, & IRELAND.

Thereby delivering theſe *Three Nations* from a miſerable *Slavery*, and reſtoring them to their ancient *Liberty*, *Peace* and *Glory*.

DELIVERED IN

Two SERMONS

Preached on the Two dayes of *Publick Thankſgiving* appointed to Praiſe God for theſe Wonderful and gracious Mercies.

One on *May* 24. the other on *June* 28. 1660.

Since that Reviſed, contrived into One, and a little Enlarged.

By *JAMES WARWELL* Rector of *Boxford* in *Suffolk*.

LONDON: Printed for *R. Royſton*, and are to be ſold by *William Franckling* Bookſeller in *Norwich*, 1660.

TO HIS

SACRED MAJESTY,

Charles the II.

By the wonderfull providence of God
happily preſerved, and by his Grace
now as happily ſetled

KING

OF

Great-Britain, France and *Ireland.*

Moſt Gracious Soveraign,

IT was the order of God under the Law, that the perſon for whom the Prieſt offered, ſhould lay his hand upon the head of the ſacrifice. This ſacrifice of thanksgiving was offered principally for your Majeſty, *and next for all your people in theſe* three Nations, *who have a very deep ſhare in all thoſe wonderful mercies which God hath done for your* Majeſty, *and in your* Majeſty *for them: your* Majeſty *could not lay your hand upon it before the oblation, nor do I now beg it, for I hope it is in the hand of God accepting it. But if your* Majeſty *ſhall be pleaſed to lay the hand of*

your Gracious acceptance upon it, as it is now dedicated (next to Gods glory) to the ſervice of your Majeſty *amongſt your people, it may by the bleſſing of God find the better acceptance and do more good.*

I know not how to apologize for ſo great a preſumption as the inſcribing of your Majeſties Name *before ſo thin and ſleight a peice, but by charging the guilt of it upon a great obligation which I was under to your* Royal Father of bleſſed memory, *and ſome remote relation to his ſervice, which inticed me hereunto, under the fair ſhew and ſuggeſtion of gratitude. This excuſe is the only one which I could frame for my preſumption: but your* Majeſtie *reflecting upon your ſelf may find another, and a better, your own incomparable clemency and graciouſneſſe. Your* Majeſties *extraordinary readineſſe to pardon crimes of the higheſt nature to your enemies, might eaſily tempt your poor Subject, whoſe heart hath never in the worſt times declined from his Loyalty, to ſuch an adventure with great hopes of pardon. As he hath then alwaies prayed for your* Majeſties *happy reſtauration in ſecret, ſo now (God be bleſſed for this happy liberty reſtored with and by your Majeſty) he ſhall continue openly as well as privately to pray for your Majeſties long, happy, and glorious raigne over us, as being*

Your Majeſties

Sincerely Loyal
and obedient Subject,

James Warwell.

TO

TO THE

READER.

READER,

TO excuſe my vanity for hazarding to thy view and cenſure ſo thin and ſleight a peice, were to commit another vanity. I might (thou wilt ſay) have forborn the doing it, and the excuſe both. This is only to tell thee an honeſt and plain truth. My pulſe did not beat this way out of any ambition to appear in print. I ſee amongſt thoſe whom the preſſe hath tyred to ſend forth upon the Stage ſome ſo learned and every waies accompliſhed, that I ſhould be aſhamed of my immodeſty and indiſcretion to intrude amongſt that Company, leaſt their

luſtre ſhould ſo cloude mee, as to make me hang down my head *like a poor peaſant in the preſence of Nobles.* And others I ſee ſo pitifully miſhapen and deformed, and in ſuch poor tatters and raggs, that I ſhould be aſhamed to ſtand amongſt them as my acquaintance. Betwixt both, what great honour or contentment can it be to any man, that hath never ſo ſmall a ſtock of reaſon, to lye upon a *Stationers* ſtall, like a peice of courſe fleſh in the ſhambles, to be flye-blowen with the cenſures of illiterate, ſupercilious and diſingenuous men, which ſwarm every where? I have obſerved that men who will be trading with too weak ſtocks, rather looſe then gain, and I ſhall run an hazard rather to looſe ſomewhat of my poor ſtock of reputation, then hope to encreaſe it. If exceſſe of joy (which is due to theſe times of our reſtored bliſſe) hath tranſported me into a vanity, which no temptation heretofore could draw me to, I deſire thy pardon and excuſe for once. Thou mayeſt (upon the like temptation)

run

run into the like at another time, and it is an hundred to one, if at ſome time or other thou beeſt not overtaken with ſuch a Vanity, or another as great, wherein thou ſhalt find him as ready to grant pardon to thee, as he now craves it of thee.

Thine Ingenuous Friend,

Ja. Warwell.

Pſal.

Pſal. 118. 27.

God is the Lord who hath ſhewed us light: bind the ſacrifice with cords even unto the horns of the Altar.

Saint *Auguſtine*, Epiſt. 77.

Quid melius et animo geramus, & ore promamus, et calamo exprimamus, quam Deo gratias? Hoc nec dici brevius, nec audire lætius, nec intelligi grandius, nec agi fructuoſius poteſt.

ERRATA.

Pag. 13 l. 6. r. grows, l. 9. for doth ſee, r. doth not ſee, pag. 17. l. ult. r. againſt which leaven, p. 25. l. 2. r. remains, p. 38. l. 10. r. Spirit.

VOTIVA TABULA.

PSALM 126. 1, 2.

When the Lord turned again the Captivity of Zion, *we were like them that dream.*

Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with ſinging, then ſaid they among the Heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them.

THIS Pſalm runs in a very joyful triumphant ſtrain, like an ἐπινίκιον, celebrating highly the praiſes of God, for a wonderful mercy ſhewed to his People of *Iſrael*, in bringing them back from their miſerable *Babyloniſh* captivity. Theſe words of it do ſo fitly expreſs that great work of mercy which God hath now wrought for this Nation, and are ſo ſutable to that occaſion for which we are aſſembled, this day to

offer up unto our moſt gracious God a Sacrifice of ſolemn Thankſgiving, as if they had been penned for our very purpoſe. And what if I ſhould think, or ſay, they were ſo.? *For all things that were written aforetime* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *were written for our learning*, and as for our learning, ſo for our purpoſes. This makes me (as one thing among many other) to adore (with *Tertullian*) the complete fulneſs of the Scriptures: that there is no occaſion, for which it may befal Chriſtians to meet together in a ſolemn holy Aſſembly, be it either for Prayer, or Praiſe, for Humiliation, or Exultation, to receive Inſtructions, Directions, or Incouragement, to any Duty general or particular, or Comforts and Conſolations in any caſe whatſoever, but the Scriptures afford divers Texts as ſuitable to the occaſion, as if they had been purpoſely framed for it.

Rom. 15. 4.

Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem. Tertul. lib. cont. Hermog.

If I ſhall ſpend very little time in the particular ſetting forth of this wonderful work of mercy, which God then wrought for his people of *Iſrael*; it is that I may reſerve it to ſpend more freely about ſetting forth that which he hath now of his own meer grace and favour wrought for us, a very ſinful and undeſerving Nation.

Theſe two Verſes are like two Monumental Pillars, reared up to preſerve the memorial of a wonderful work of mercy wrought by God for his People unto all generations.

In the firſt, is engraven the hand of Almighty God, reached down from Heaven, and taking hold of his people, to lead them out of their Captivity, as the Angel once took hold of *Lots* hand to lead

lead him out of the deſtruction of *Sodom.*

In the other is repreſented the great blazes of his peoples joy, and the plentiful Incenſe of praiſe which aſcended up from them towards Heaven: or, to ſpeak a little more plainly, we have in them theſe two general things to be conſidered.

1. The great mercy which God wrought for his people. He turned again the captivity of his people ſo wonderfully and inexpectedly, that in an amazement, they thought it rather a dream, then a thing real. *When the Lord turned again the captivity of* Zion, *we were like them that dream.*

2. The Effects of this great mercy, what it wrought, and how.

1. His people were affected with it, who received the benefit of it.

2. How the Heathen were affected, who were ſtrangers and no ſharers in it.

As for his people, they were affected with joy, which is conſiderable (as it is here ſet forth) both for the meaſure of it, and the kinds of it.

1. For the meaſure of it, it was very great and extraordinary: Their hearts and mouths, and tongues were all brim-ful. *Our mouths were* [*filled*] *with laughter, and our tongues*, &c.

2. As for their kinds of joy, it is here expreſſed to have been two-fold, *viz.*

1. A Natural joy or rejoycing. *Our mouth was filled with* [*laughter.*] Riſibility is the natural property of the reaſonable creature, man, and laughter is the natural expreſſion of ſome great ſudden pleaſure and joy. The joy of laughter cannot in

reaſon have any better name, then Natural: yet I think that a fitter term of expreſſion, then to call it [Carnal] which is a word of ill ſound. Natural joy may be conſtrued as a lawful joy without ſin: but ſo can we not well think of a joy that were called Carnal. As our reaſon may tell us, that this kind of joy of laughter was no better then natural or common joy, ſo our charity may reſtrain us, (ſeeing this is written of the people of God, one as well as another) from calling it Carnal: And yet it would have deſerved no better Name, if there had not been another kind of better joy joyned with it, and ſet in it as a rich Diamond in a Gold Ring. But,

2. Here is another kind of joy expreſſed to have been in them, more rational, Spiritual and Religious [*Our tongue was filled with ſinging.*] Though the mouth of fools may be filled with laughter; yet to ſet forth joy in a Song, requires ſome height of reaſon: and to frame Songs of praiſe and thanksgiving unto God (as we muſt conceive was done in this caſe) or to joyn in ſuch Songs of Praiſe (though compoſed by others) with an heart and tongue fit to ſing them, this requires religious devotion. Who can compoſe a Song fit for the ſolemn praiſing of God, without ſome ſerious and deep meditation? Yea, to raiſe it up to a fitting ſtrain, it requires a more then ordinary elevation of ſpirit, a kind of divine rapture. Nor when it is compoſed by one, can it be ſung by others tuneably before God, unleſs the heart keeps tune as well as the voyce: This phraſe therefore [*Our tongue*

was

was filled with ſinging] doth plainly imply a religious and ſpiritual rejoycing, without which the other had been but a Cypher. But whoſoever ſings according to St. *Pauls* rule, *I will ſing with the ſpirit, I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo,* his joy muſt needs be rational and religious: And it may be worth our noting here, that the religious and ſpiritual rejoycing of Gods people in this Mercy, was as high as their natural: *their tongues were* [*filled*] *with ſinging,* as well as their *mouths with laughter*: This rarely falls out amongſt men, yet it ſhould be thus alwayes. The fat of all ſacrifices was to be offered upon the Altar; but men commonly feed upon the fat of their joyes themſelves, and offer but a leaner part, if any at all, to God. 1 Cor. 14. 15.

Thus were the people of God affected with this great mercy, but how the heathen?

2. The Heathen were all filled with a great admiration of it. We may conſider them either as ſtrangers, or enemies to the people of God: all were ſtrangers, and ſome without doubt enemies. We do not finde here, that *their mouths were filled with laughter, or their tongues with ſinging*: they had not learned St. *Pauls* rule, to *rejoyce with them that rejoyce*: Some (more probably) envyed the people of God this happineſs, as *Sanballat* and *Tobiah* envyed the repairing of the Temple: ſome perhaps were ſorry and troubled at it, they might loſe the advantage of ſome ſlaves, as the Maſters of the *Pythoniſt* were incenſed at her diſpoſſeſſion by *Paul*: others of better natures might be in- Rom. 12. 15. Nehem. 6. Acts 16. 19.

differently well pleaſed, but not much joyed; but generally they were all affected with great admiration and wonder, to acknowledge it the mighty hand of God: *Then ſaid they among the Heathen, The Lord hath done great, &c.*

Thus have ye a view of the generall things contained in theſe words: if ye deſire further a bill of the particulars, I will give it you thus.

1. God in his diſpleaſure doth give up his own people, his dear *Zion* into Captivity, being highly and long provoked with their hainous ſins. Here is *Zions* Captivity.

2. God nevertheleſſe in his wrath, remembring mercy, doth in his appointed time turn again her captivity. Here is *a turning again of the Captivity of Zion.*

3. He himſelf works this return ſo with his own arm, that all men might ſee it to be his doing. [*The Lord*] *turned again the Captivity of Zion.*

4. He doth it in a way ſo wonderfull, ſuddenly, unexpectedly, or by unlikely means, that it ſeemed to his people a kinde of dream. *We were like them that dream.*

5. This cauſed the hearts of his people to overflow with joy, both natural or common, and ſpiritual or religious. *Our mouths were filled with* [*laughter*] *and our tongues with* [*ſinging.*]

6. Though their common and natural joy were firſt in order, (as in reaſon it could not be otherwiſe) *That is not firſt* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *which is ſpiritual, but that which is natural, then afterwards*

1 Cor. 15. 44.

that

that which is ſpiritual; yet their ſpiritual did anſwer it, and equal it in meaſure. Their *tongues were* [*filled*] *with ſinging*, as well as their *mouth with* [*laughter.*]

7. This wonderfull work of mercy was ſo conſpicuous and glorious, that the eyes of ſtrangers, even the Heathen, took notice of the ſpecial favour of God therein manifeſted to his people, and ſaid, *The Lord had done great things for them.*

From theſe particulars, I ſhall gather my Obſervations this day, and make application of them to our ſelves, for our Inſtruction, Direction and Comfort.

And firſt I obſerve,

There is no people ſo dear in the eyes of God, or grafted ſo deeply into his ſpecial favour, but if they go on to provoke the eyes of his glory, they may and muſt expect to be corrected with ſome ſharp rod. *Obſer.* 1.

Thus it befell his dear beloved people the *Jews*. For is not Captivity a very ſharp rod; Truly, if there be no other twigs bound up in Gods rod, but ſuch as grow on earth, if ſome ſpiritual judgements be not mingled and bound up with his temporal, there can ſcarce any rod be conceived ſharper. What a ſinking miſery is it for a poor Nation to be inſlaved, under rude, barbarous and inſolent enemies, who both hate and deſpiſe them, and have power in their hands to do to them what--

whatſoever their cruel hatred and deſpite ſhall incline them to? Yet this was the lot of the *Jews*, Gods peculiar people, and ſpecial favourites; and that not once, but often, a juſt puniſhment upon them: For when God fed them to the full, then *they waxed fat, then they kicked,* Deut. 32. 15. *and forſook God that made them, and lightly eſteemed the rock of their ſalvation*: Yea they were become more brutiſh then the Ox or Aſſe, as God complaineth: *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the* Iſa. 1. 3. *Aſſe his Maſters Crib, but* Iſrael *doth not know, my people doth not conſider*: They neither know, nor regard me at all. Who can wonder then at Pſal. 106. 41. Gods ſevere treating them? *He gave them up therefore* (as the Pſalmiſt tells us) *into the hands of the Heathen, and they that hated them ruled over them.* As *Antigonus* uſed the rude, fooliſh, inſolent Citizens of a certain City, unto which he layed ſiege, who from their walls every day mocked him, and expreſſed their great ſcorn of him: Having at length won it, though out of his nobleneſs, he would not write his revenge in blood, yet he ſold them all for Slaves, withall giving them this gentle taunt, *Seeing ye do not know how to govern your ſelves with better manners, ye have need of ſome other Maſters to govern you.* So dealt God with his people, when they were grown ſo impiouſly inſolent, as to mock his Prophets, to deſpiſe his Word, and to ſleight his threatnings: When they began to caſt off him, and would not own him for their Lord, to obey him in any thing: It is high time (thought God) to give up theſe men

men into the hands of other Masters, who shall make them to serve with rigour, as the *Egyptians* did their Fathers. *Like as they have forsaken me, and served strange Gods in their own Land, so they shall serve strangers in a Land that is not theirs.* Exod. 1. 14. Jer. 5. 19.

Let us learn from hence this wisdom, that it is not safe for any Nation, whose sins are very great, and still encreasing, to presume too much, or too long upon the favour or patience of God, though his special love-tokens to them have been very great, and continued to them with visible demonstrations of extraordinary favour. We, I am sure, have found it not safe for us by miserable experience. It is too usual generally with all Nations to do as we have done, to undervalue the mercies of God, to grow wanton with them, and abuse them; and then it is just with God, and ordinary enough also, to punish the sleighting and abusing of his great mercies with some remarkable severity. What is it that we or any other sinfull people should presume upon? If it be of our federal relation to God, that makes our sins far worse, when it makes not us better. If it be because we do profess the true ancient Faith, and embrace the Reformed Religion; what is this, if we walk quite contrary to the principles and rules of it? We could never provoke God so highly, or dishonour true Religion so much, if we did not openly profess it. Such was once the vain folly and confidence of the *Jews*, saying, *Templum Domini, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord,* Jer. 7. 4. *Applicat.*

the Temple of the Lord are these. It is likely the vain men were very confident, Because God had a fair and stately Temple in the midst of them, that therefore surely he would defend his own Temple, and not suffer his own House to be burnt, or beaten down over his head; and if that were kept safe, that their houses should fare well enough for neighbourhood sake: they had a strong perswasion, that those legs which had so often resorted to the House of God, and that perhaps with some shew of cheerfulness, should never come into shackles: Yea, but if his own people will make the House which is called by his Name, a Den of Robbers, it will less offend God to see it so abused and prophaned by the Heathen, as a man had rather be disgracefully affronted by any stranger, then by a Childe whom he hath begot, or a Servant whom he hath carefully brought up. We know, that God forsook his Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, yea that he suffered his Ark (the most holy thing, that was in the most holy place, it was like Gods Bed-chamber, or bed in his House) he suffered that to be taken by the *Philistines*, and to be carryed (which was more strange) as a present to their Idol *Dagon*: but this he did out of his abhorrence of the Priests notorious wickedness, and to shame both theirs and the peoples vain confidence, in such a vain shelter against a storm of his indignation, raised by their high provoking sins. If then God delivered his own *Zion* into captivity, if he forsook his own Tabernacle, yea suffered his Ark to be taken by the uncircumcised *Philistines*, (which

Psal. 78. 60.
1 Sam. 4. 11.

(which was as if they had diſtrained his own bed from under him) whom can we think he will ſpare, or of what will he be tender, if once he be highly provoked? We have ſeen to the very breaking of our hearts, that which the weeping Prophet ſo bitterly lamenteth, *He hath deſpiſed in the indignation of his anger the King and the Prieſt*: yet without all doubt, he is tender of thoſe degrees of men above all living: What elſe can be his meaning in his *Ne attingite? Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.* Yea, *but who may ſtand in his ſight when once he is angry?* Lam. 2. 6. Pſal. 105. 15. Pſal. 76. 7.

Obſerv. 2. *That the anger of God againſt his people, though it be moſt juſt, and kindled very hot, yet doth not uſually laſt very long.* *Obſerv.* 2.

Such is the infinite graciouſneſs of God, that (as the Pſalmiſt ſaith) *he will not alwayes chide, neither will he keep his anger for ever.* God had cauſe juſt enough, and too juſt againſt *Iſrael*, and in his anger had begun to ſmite them ſore. *The ſword ſhall abide in his Cities, and ſhall conſume his branches, and devour them becauſe of their own Councels:* yet his tender heart quickly relenteth, as if it failed him to proceed further. *How ſhall I give thee up, Ephraim? how ſhall I deliver thee, Iſrael? how ſhall I make thee as Admah? how ſhall I ſet thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together.* If there be any repentings in his people, though Pſal. 103 9. Hoſ. 11. 6. Ver. 8.

but like the ſmoaking flax, his repentings are kindled and blaze out: he makes it appear openly, how he repenteth of the evil inflicted upon his people, when it ſcarce appeareth, how his people repent of the evil which they have committed againſt him: yea (which is more ſtrange) he repenteth, and ſtayes his hand, when their repentance is not really hearty, but forced and fained: That paſſage in the 78 Pſalm may make us ſtand amazed at the infinite mercy of God, that he ſhould be ready to take up and remove his rod from his people, when they did but humble themſelves with a meer outward ſhew of repentance: *They ſought him indeed, and returned, and enquired early after God. Nevertheleſſe* (as the Pſalmiſt tells us, *v.* 36.) *they did flatter him with their mouth, and lyed unto him with their tongues.* Yet mark what follows immediately. *But he being full of compaſſion* [this is a ſtrange *But*] *forgave their iniquity, and deſtroyed them not.* Yet truly there are ſome reaſons, why the infinitely gracious God is pleaſed to turn away his puniſhing wrath, even upon ſuch formal repentings.

Pſal. 78. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

1. To demonſtrate the infinite graciouſneſs of his own nature, how ready he is to forgive, when ſo little a matter as an *Ahab*'s humiliation will move him to ſtay his hand, and to ſuſpend at leaſt his judgements.

2. To ſhew, that he is better pleaſed with forms of outward humiliation, though proceeding more from a ſence of his judgements, then of ſin, the true cauſe of them, then with no humiliation at all,

and

and that ſuch a buckling under his rod doth leſs diſpleaſe him, then an obſtinate contempt and defiance of it.

3. Becauſe the wicked inſolence of thoſe wretches, whom he is pleaſed to uſe as his ſcourges to laſh his people, oftentimes grow ſo high and inſufferable in his eyes, that it pleaſeth God upon any the leaſt occaſion to bridle it, and put an end to it. Though he doth ſee ſo much true humiliation and repentance in his people, as their afflicted eſtate ſhould have wrought in them, yet he cannot endure any longer to ſee the pride and inſultation of their enemies over them. *I am very ſore diſpleaſed* (ſaith God) *with the Heathen that are at eaſe: for I was but a little diſpleaſed* [with my people] *and they helped forward the affliction. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord, I am returned to* Jeruſalem *with mercies*, &c. As a Father who hath given a rod into the hands of a ſlave to laſh his child for his offences, yet if he ſees him too cruel and inſolent in laſhing him, though he be not yet well pleaſed with his child, yet will ſnatch the rod out of his hand, and lay it on upon his back for his too much inſolence. So doth God oftentimes turn away the rod of his diſpleaſure from his people, being moved thereunto more by the extreme inſolence and cruelty of their oppreſſors, then by the repentance and good uſe which his people have made of their afflictions. And thus it comes to paſs, that his anger uſually doth not continue in the height long towards his people. If their own true Repentance doth not wholly quench it, or

Zach. 1. 15, 16.

their forced Humiliation much abate it, yet the wicked insolence of those whom he useth as his rod, doth commonly in a little time rise to such an insufferable height, that he will no longer abide it.

Applicat. This maketh very much for the support and comfort of the people of God in general, and of all or any of his holy servants in particular, in their afflicted conditions when they are lowest. Those who are not *filii iræ*, the children of wrath, yet may be, and often are, *filii sub ira*, children under wrath, yet then

Psal. 30. 5. they have this to comfort them, *That his anger endureth but a moment:* either their true and deep repentance may quite remove it, or their weaker measure of repentance may slake it, or the extreme insolence and cruelty of their oppressors (like a wind which carryeth the flames *per saltum*) may blow away the flames of Gods wrath from them, to leap and seize upon their Oppressors: Let them then wait upon God with patience, and there will come a turning again of the captivity of *Zion* in his good time. When their deliverance is furthest off from their eye, it may then be neerest at hand. Howsoever there is fewel sufficient for their Faith and Hope to feed upon, so long as there is Almighty Power and Infinite Mercy in God. And seeing there is fewel sufficient, and neer enough at hand to a believing heart, let us not through our slothful unbelief, let the fire go out for want of our fetching it in, and laying it on. When our hopes are at the last gaspe, yet they may be revived with that gracious promise, *The Lord shall judge his people, and*

Deut. 32. 36.

repent

repent himſelf for his ſervants, when he ſeeth that their power is gone, and that there is none ſhut up or left.

Obſerv. 3. *That it is God who worketh deliverances for his people, and that uſually in ſuch a manner, that it plainly appears to be only his hand and doing.* *Obſerv.* 3.

He it was that here turned again the captivity of *Zion*. *It is he* (ſaith *David*) *that giveth ſalvation to Kings, that delivereth* David *his Servant from the hurtful ſword.* Pſal. 144. 10. The Pſalmiſt tells us, *The Lord is known by the judgement which he executeth: the wicked is ſnared in the work of his own hands.* Pſal. 9. 16. True, God maketh himſelf many times known this way. It concerneth his own honor, and the good of men in this world, that he ſhould do ſo, that others might ſee, *and hear, and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly.* Deut. 17. 13. But God is more glorioufly known by his mercies, and wonderful deliverances which he worketh for his ſervants, and it concerneth his honor, as much, or more, to make himſelf ſo known: Therefore in ſuch works he makes bare his arm, that we may ſee it naked, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeaks: *The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the Nations, and all the ends of the Earth ſhall ſee the Salvation of our God.* Iſai. 52. 10. But in what work was it, that God thus *made bare his holy arm?* It was (as the foregoing verſe ſhews) for the comforting of his people, and the redeeming of *Jeruſalem*. So bare and naked commonly doth

doth God ſhew his own arm in ſuch great deliverances of mercy, that the moſt purblind eyes, even the very Heathen may ſee it. *His righteouſneſs hath he openly ſhewed in the ſight of the Heathen*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt; and here in our Text the Heathen took notice that it was the hand of God: *Then ſaid they among the Heathen, The Lord hath done*, &c.

Pſal. 98. 2.

Now God is pleaſed to work his great deliverances and works of mercy, in this manner, for divers reaſons; ſome relating to himſelf, ſome to his people whom he delivereth, ſome to his and their Enemies, from whom he delivereth them.

Ratio. 1. 1. With reference to himſelf, that the whole honor and glory of ſuch a work might more clearly and intirely be aſcribed to him alone: That is a Jewel of his own Crown; no creature muſt ſhare with him in wearing that: *My glory will I not give* (ſaith he) *to another.* Therefore when he coins ſuch a work, he ſets his own Image upon it, and therewith alſo this ſuperſcription, *Soli Deo gloria: To God, who only doth marvellous things, be the glory:* This he would have acknowledged, not only by thoſe who are barely Patients, and Receivers of ſo great a mercy, but even by all thoſe whom he is pleaſed to uſe as Agents and Inſtruments in his work to bring it to paſs. *All thoſe muſt* (like the Elders in the *Revelation*) *caſt their Crowns before his Throne, ſaying, Thou art worthy O Lord* (thou, not we) *to receive honor, and glory, and power: For thou haſt done all things, and for thy pleaſure, and by thy conduct all was and is done.*

Iſai. 42. 8.

2. God

2. God works his great works of mercy in this manner for divers reaſons which concern his people, As, *Ratio.* 2.

1. That they might receive them more free from all temptations to Evil. And,

2. With clearer and greater incitements unto Goodneſs and Piety. As namely,

1. That they might be under a leſs temptation of aſcribing too much to men, whom he honoreth to be his Inſtruments. We are all, even good men, a little too ſubject to this fault: We hug the meſſengers by whom God ſends theſe mercies with ſuch endleſs complements, and give them up ſo much of our real hearty affections, that all, or the greateſt part is ſpent that way; and when we ſhould come to praiſe God, and tender to him the real manifeſtations of our thankfulneſs, ſcarce a tenth part is left, and that alſo offered not ſo cheerfully and lively as it ought. To leſſen this temptation, God is pleaſed to ſhew his own hand more clearly and wonderfully in his gracious deliverances.

2. It may be to prevent pride, and a vain lifting up of heart in his people. As extraordinary favours of Princes are apt to puff up vain men, ſo extraordinary Providences of Divine favour are, through Satans ſubtilty, made ſnares even to good men, to lift up their hearts with pride: the good King *Hezekiah* was taken in this ſnare: After two ſuch extraordinary favours of God, as the Scripture relates at large, the heart even of this good King was lifted up: the beſt antidote which heaven is, to con- 2 Chr. 32. 25.

ſider, how clearly ſuch favours proceed from the hand of God, who never ſheweth his favour to make men more proud, but more humble and thankful: Here that of St. *Paul* is fit to be remembred;

1 Cor. 4. 7. *What haſt thou, that thou didſt not receive? Now if thou didſt receive it, why doſt thou glory as if thou hadſt not received it?*

But this is not all, why God cauſeth his own hand to appear in his great works of mercy, to prevent and leſſen the temptations unto evil; but ſpecially and more principally it is to ſettle his ſervants more firmly in the Principles of true Religion, and to incite and incourage them unto the practiſes of true Piety; As

1. Such providences of God do help much to ſettle his ſervants more firmly in the Principles of true Religion; and the more clearly the hand of God appears in them, the more plainly do they teach them to adore and ſerve the great God, who ruleth in Heaven and Earth, and doth whatſoever pleaſeth him. Doubtleſs the providences of God are intended by him, and are ſo regular, that they are fit to teach men religious Piety; and they do ſo, when they are rightly interpreted by the Commentary of his written Word: Otherwiſe when (as ſome of our new Teachers have done of late) they are conſtrued to the over-ruling of his plain Word, they may miſlead men, and harden them in impiety. When God doth plainly manifeſt his hand of vengeance upon ſome wicked men, who have bleſſed themſelves a long time in the proſperous ſucceſſes of their wicked devices, doth not this make much

to

to ſettle men in thoſe Principles of Religion which *David* infers from thence? *The righteous* (ſaith he) *ſhall rejoyce when he ſeeth the vengeance, he ſhall waſh his feet in the bloud of the wicked:* So that a man ſhall ſay (a man from thence may conclude) *Verily there is a reward for the righteous,* Pſal. 58. 10, 11. *verily he is a God that judgeth in the Earth:* yet I confeſs, that Providences of Judgement are not ſo eaſie, nor ſo ſafe to be interpreted, as the Providences of Signal Deliverances and great Mercies to his People. In theſe the aim of God is more clearly ſeen, and they do more plainly tend to ſettle the Principles of Religion, more firmly in the hearts of his ſervants, and to encourage them unto the ſincere practiſe of true Piety. Doth not God plainly teach his ſevants by theſe, to adore with all reverence his power, his greatneſs, his wiſdom, his graciouſneſs and mercy manifeſted in them? Doth he not encourage them to walk with more reſolution and cheerfulneſs in the wayes of his fear and true piety? Doth he not clear the eyes of their Faith, by taking out thoſe motes of Infidelity, which their own afflictions, and the proſperity of their Enemies had before raiſed to trouble their eyes? With ſuch motes of Infidelity the beſt Servants of God may be ſometimes troubled, whileſt their afflictions are many, and the flouriſhings of the wicked are notorious, as appears by the ſtaggering complaint of the Pſalmiſt, *Verily I have cleanſed* Pſal. 73. 13. *my heart in vain, and waſhed my hands in innocency:* But when God appears once in a way of mercy to work a ſignal deliverance for his his Ser-

vants, this clears their eyes of such motes, and settles their poor wavering hearts more firmly in the Principles, and more resolutely in the Practices of true Religion. Let me instance a little more particularly in the happy and kindly effects, which such mercies of God work in the hearts of his true servants, or at least properly tend to work.

2. They tend to draw the entire affections of his servants more strongly, and to knit their hearts more close to God for ever: The more clearly the hand of Gods favour doth appear in any blessing, the more strongly doth it lay hold upon, and graspe a pious heart to make it wholly his. When God doth deliver his people, or any of his servants in particular out of trouble and danger, so as if he took him up in his own arms, and hugged him with many kisses, and carryed him out (as *Æneas* did his Father out of the *Trojan* flames) upon his own shoulders; will not this cause any servant of God to claspe him again with more entire affections, like *David? I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my Rock and my Fortress, and my Deliverer, my God, my strength in whom I will trust, my Buckler, and the Horn of my Salvation, and my high Tower.*

Psal. 18. 1, 2.

3. They put them even to study and bethink themselves more seriously, what returns of praise, and what fitting expressions of thankfulness they shall offer to God. For extraordinary mercies call for some extraordinary returns: So *David, What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?*

Psal. 116. 12.

4. They

4. They make them more mindful of their vows, (if they made any ſuch in their ſad times of trouble, as many pious hearts do) and careful to pay them. So *David* again; *Thou O God haſt heard my Vows, thou haſt given me the heritage of thoſe that fear thy Name.* But what will *David* do upon this? He doth ſo excellently declare that in another Pſalm, and his expreſſions (me thinks) are ſuch, as if they had been fitted purpoſely for our gracious Soveraign, and our ſelves, to put words into our mouths, and tellus what we ſhould do: *Thou haſt cauſed men to ride over our heads, we went through fire and water, but thou broughteſt us out into a wealthy place. I will go into thine houſe with Burnt-offerings, I will pay thee my Vows, which my lips have uttered, and my mouth hath ſpoken, when I was in trouble.* Pſal. 61. 5. Pſal. 66. 12, 13, 14.

5. They tend to increaſe their confidence in God, and to make them reſt with a quieter ſecurity upon his Almighty and gracious Arm, for the future: So *David* again; *The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the Lyon, and out of the paw of the Bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philiſtine.* So alſo St. *Paul*; *I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon. And the Lord ſhall deliver me from every evil work, and will preſerve me unto his heavenly Kingdom, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.* 1 Sam. 17. 37. 2 Tim. 4. 17, 18.

6. They bind his ſervants to walk humbly, and more cloſely with their God, as worthy of his mercies, that they may never give him cauſe afterwards to upbraid them with what he once did

2 Sam. 12. 7, 8, 9, 10. for them, as once he did *David* very roundly upon this account.

These are manifest reasons, why God is pleased to shew his own hand so clearly in those great deliverances, which he worketh for his people, for their Spiritual advantage, and improving of their graces: And last of all, some reasons may be conceived, why he doth thus, in respect of his and their Enemies. As,

1. That some of them, when they behold the signal favour of God to his servants, may lay down all their envy and malice towards them, and repent heartily of all their oppressions and injuries done to them. Thus we hope many beholding now the great work of God in preserving and restoring happily our gracious Soveraign, will repent heartily, like *Peter*, for denying their Lord and Master.

2. That others, who have not so much grace, may yet be stricken with horror at the sight of Gods manifest hand, and may repent at least with *Judas*, loathing their pieces of silver, the bait and reward of their Treason, and may acknowledge, that they have sinned and done very foolishly in betraying innocent bloud; And if any shall repent thus, God in mercy keep them from an end like *Judas*, unless they still retain his heart, and might be tempted again for pieces of silver to plot another betraying of their Master.

3. That the most obdurate of all might see, and fear, and be dismayed, and cry for sorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of spirit, according

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to that of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Behold, my ſervants ſhall ſing for joy of heart: but ye ſhall cry for ſorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of ſpirit.* Iſai. 65. 14.

Thus ye ſee the great God hath many ſeveral ends, and weighty reaſons, why he is pleaſed to ſhew his own hand ſo clearly in thoſe great deliverances which he worketh for his people, and why he will have it known, that it is he, only he who turneth again the captivity of his *Zion*.

I have been ſomewhat large in the recital of many reaſons, why it pleaſeth God to work his great deliverances of his people in this manner; but that which moved me hereunto, was, becauſe I have diſcovered withall the true and right uſes, which we ſhould make of ſuch wonderful mercies of God, and the ſpiritual advantages which we might and ſhould gain by them: If we anſwer thoſe ends of God exactly, then we make the right uſe of them to our ſelves. This is to do a juſt right to God the doer, and to improve them aright to our ſelves the receivers. *Applicat.*

1. Then let us give to God alone the whole glory of ſuch deliverances. Let not thoſe whom God is pleaſed to uſe as his great Inſtruments in them divide it (as the Aſs in the fable did the prey, as much to himſelf as to the Lion) as much to themſelves as to God. Nor let us divide it, as ſome men are apt enough to do (in that more ſilly then the Aſs) more to man, then to God. Let the glory be divided neither equally, nor inequally: let it not be divided at all, but aſcribed wholly and intirely

tirely to the great and gracious God, who worketh all, and in all.

2. Let the hand of God, which may be diſcerned clearly in ſuch deliverances, make our hearts as clearly for him, as his hand hath been for us.

3. Let us even ſtudy what kind of thankſgiving doth beſt beſeem us to return unto God for ſo great a mercy: not ſtudy what we ſhould deviſe, but ſtudy what he requires, what he may expect, and what will be moſt pleaſing and acceptable to him, and offer him that with all ſtudious carefulneſs.

4. If any of us have made vows to God, to win his favour the more readily, and to procure more ſpeedily this great mercy which he hath ſhewed to our Nation, let us remember to pay cheerfully in the midſt of our joyes, what we formerly vowed in the midſt of our ſorrows.

5. Let us henceforth begin to truſt our good God with more confidence in all our ſtraits and troubles, and let us reſt upon him with an hopeful ſecurity for the perfecting of his good work begun now amongſt us. Within theſe few years, yea, within theſe few moneths; how many were there amongſt us, that even diſpaired of ever ſeeing the things which we ſee, or hearing the things which we hear: yet there were alwayes ſome ſtrongly confident, that God would in his due time certainly turn again the captivity of our *Zion*.

By this time, I hope, we have all learned to reſt with more confidence upon the power and graci-

ouſneſs

ouſneſs of our God, and to truſt him for all that yet emaineth to be done: yet truly our Prayers muſt go along with our truſt: What we expect with deſire, we muſt pray for with earneſtneſs. Let us therefore continue in Prayer, that God would perfect his good work begun, that he would ſtill preſerve the man of his right hand under the ſhadow of his wings, that he would *hide him in the ſecret of his preſence from the pride of men, yea* (and, if it be his good pleaſure, to bleſs him with that rare happineſs, which hath ſeldom befaln the beſt of Princes) *to keep him ſecretly in a Pavilion from the ſtrife of tongues.* Pſal. 31. 20.

6. Laſtly, Above all, let us who rejoyce greatly in this wonderful mercy of Gods turning again the captivity of our *Zion*, be careful to walk worthy of it. Let us *walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe*; not only as men over-joyed at preſent, but as circumſpect men, careful to preſerve what we rejoyce in. Otherwiſe it may befall us, as it doth ſome young Heirs, who rejoyce too much, when they come to a rich Inheritance, and yet within a few years, by their vain prodigality, their Inheritance and Joy both are brought to an end: Let us take heed, that we do not provoke God within a little while, to upbraid us with this great mercy he hath beſtowed upon us, in ſuch terms as he once upbraided *David*. I delivered you from a very miſerable ſlavery, which ye had pulled upon your own heads by your wilful follies, and from the danger of a greater ſlavery, which was even ready to be put upon your necks; I gave you a Ephes. 5. 15.

King according to your hearts desires, such a King as exceeded your desires, in whom nothing was wanting that reasonably could be desired, or expected in a mortal creature, and so gave him to you in my love and mercy, that it cost you not one drop of your bloud to have him (which ye would have thought a great purchase to have gained with the bloud of many thousands:) and if this had been too little for you, what is there more which I would not have done for you? Why then now do ye despise the Commandements of your God? Why do ye give occasions to the Enemies of this mercy to blaspheme? Brethren, if we the people of this Nation, after all this, shall continue in a debauchery of scandalous conversation, what is there left to accumulate the aggravation of our sins? If after so great an affliction, if after such a wonderful deliverance of mercy, if after God hath given us one of the best Loadstones upon Earth to draw our hearts unto Piety, Sobriety and Vertue, (the Exemplary attractiveness of so pious a Soveraign) we shall yet continue in our sinful ways without fear, or thankfulness, or shame, what shall God do to us to better us? or what shall we be able to say to him? Our sins now will be much greater, as being committed not only against against the authority of the holy Rules of God, but against the lustre of so bright and winning an Example in man.

These are the uses which all we, that have sighed under the captivity of our *Zion*, that have prayed for a deliverance, that rejoyce now in the wonderful deliverance which God hath wrought by his own

own holy arm, ſhould make of this mercy. And as for thoſe who have been enemies to this great work of mercy, who have had their heads or hands deepeſt in the plots or ways of bringing our *Zion* into captivity, or holding her ſtill under it, let us pray heartily for them, that they may now ſee their folly and wickedneſs, and repent thereof with real ſorrow; or if not, that they may be ſo diſmayed and confounded (beholding clearly the hand of God in this mercy which he hath wrought) as they may never again dare to make the leaſt attempt againſt it: And doubtleſs, if we, that rejoyce in this mercy, ſhall anſwer the other ends of God, by our thankfulneſs and worthy walking, God himſelf will take care, that all the Enemies of this mercy ſhall anſwer thoſe ends which concern them, either by their repentance, or by their awful dread and horror.

Obſerv. 4. *That it pleaſeth God to work many times his great deliverances for his people ſo ſtrangely, ſuddenly, and unexpectedly, that they can ſcarſe at firſt believe their own ſenſes, but are like men that dream.* *Obſerv.* 4.

It is ſaid in the Goſpel, *That the Enemy ſowed his tares whileſt men ſlept:* The Devil indeed doth ſteal upon us, and caſt his fire-brands of miſchief (whileſt we ſleep) but their flames quickly awaken us with ſuch a ſenſe, as put us beyond thinking our ſelves in a dream. The gracious God of Heaven doth alſo often ſow his bleſſings whileſt men ſleep. Matth. 13. 25.

Whileſt our Faith ſleeps as to the belief, and our hope ſleeps as to the expectation of ſo great a mercy, he comes privily as it were, and lays it down by us upon our pillows. At our firſt awakening, our eyes begin to gaze upon it, yet we can ſcarce believe it to be other then a dream. Such was the inexpected and ſtrange deliverance of
Act. 12. 7,8,9, 10,11. *Peter* out of Priſon, whom *Herod* had deſtinated the next day for a Sacrifice of popularity, to pleaſe the blindly zealous *Jews*. The Angel is ſent whileſt he was faſt aſleep, he ſtrikes him upon the ſide, *ſaying, Ariſe Peter*, and he ariſeth, *and the chains fall off from his hands*. The Angel bids him, *Gird thy ſelf, and bind on thy Sandals, caſt thy garment about thee, and follow me*. *Peter* doth all this, enough (a man would think) to awaken him throughly: yet the Text tells us, *He went out and followed him, and wiſt not, that it was true which was done by the Angel, but thought he ſaw a Viſion:* yea ſtill further, the Angel conducts him through the firſt and ſecond guard, makes the Iron gate which led into the City fly open, and leads him through one ſtreet paſt all oppoſition and danger, and there leaves him. All this while the Apoſtle thought, he was but in a dream; until his Guardian Angel left him to himſelf, he came not to himſelf. Then he came to himſelf, and ſaid; *Now I know of a ſurety, that the Lord hath ſent his Angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of* Herod, *and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews*. As ſtrange and unexpected (I conceive) was that deliverance of the *Jews* from the barbarous, malicious,

licious, bloody plot of cruel *Haman*. When this poor people, in every Province of *Ahaſhuerus* Dominion, were mourning and weeping, faſting and lying in ſack-cloth and aſhes, when the day of their ſad doom was approaching, and *Hamans* Cut-throats were in a readineſs to make a general Maſſacre of them: what hope of help or deliverance was left to them? But behold on a ſuddain come Poſts from *Mordecai* with other Letters, *that they ſhould gather themſelves together, and ſtand upon their defence, and ſlay, if they could, all that ſhould aſſail them.* Could they believe theſe Letters at firſt to be real? Did they not think that either the Poſts, or themſelves, or both were in a dream? Were not the firſt Letters for their deſtruction ſigned with the Kings Ring? Did they not know certainly, that having ſuch a Signature, they were irreverſible? How then could there be ſuch a turn on a ſudden? But though the Letters were not reverſible, nor indeed reverſed, yet they were as good as reverſed by a way not imaginable. *Mordecai* the great Patron of his Nation is advanced into the Kings favour by a ſtrange providence, *Haman* their great enemy is hanged, with all his ſons, the *Jews* have a lawfull Warrant granted them, to arm themſelves and ſtand upon their own defence, the fear of *Mordecai* and of the *Jews* falls upon their enemies, this chills their courage for the preſent, though perhaps it could not quench their malice: but who now dares aſſail them, to execute the firſt Letters procured by *Haman*? Surely if the holyeſt Prophet of God

that ever lived, had but a few days before foretold them of ſuch a deliverance, he would ſcarce have been thought to tell them any thing but his own dream. And the poor *Jews* thus ſtrangely and unexpectedly delivered, might then have well ſaid, as our Pſalmiſt doth here, *We were like them that dream*: Yet thus it pleaſeth the great and wiſe God oftentimes to work deliverances for his people, to make them know, that the great *Keeper of Iſrael doth neither ſlumber nor ſleep.*

Now ſuch deliverances make us like men that dream, which are wrought with theſe or the like circumſtances.

1. When God worketh them ſuddenly, and turneth the wheel of his Providence with ſo quick a motion, that it is ſcarce imaginable how ſo great a work could be done in ſo ſhort a ſpace.

2. When he doth his work by inſtruments and means very unlikely and improbable, ſo that no man expected, that God could or would have done his work with ſuch tools.

3. When he delivers his people in the very nick of extreme danger, *inter pontem & fontem*: when the ram is caught by the horns in a buſh for a ſacrifice, at that very inſtant, when the Knife was at *Iſaac*'s throat.

4. When he raiſeth his people out of a condition ſo deſperate and hopeleſs, that it is like the raiſing up of *Lazarus* out of his grave after he had been four dayes buryed.

Yet

Yet thus, even thus many times it pleaſeth the great, powerfull, wiſe, mercifull and wonder-working God to contrive both the ſeaſons and the means, to lay out both the way and the time of deliverance for his ſervants: which he doth,

1. To cauſe the wonders of his Providence to be more deeply admired and adored, and everlaſtingly remembred. *He hath made his wonderfull works to be remembred.* Pſal. 111. 4. *The Heavens ſhall praiſe thy wonders O Lord: thy faithfulneſſe alſo in the Congregation of the Saints.* Pſal. 89 5.

2. To ſet a more viſible and remarkable character of his ſpecial favour and love upon his ſervants ſo delivered. Such honour have his Saints in the eyes of the World oftentimes, and beſides it is to them in their own boſom a ſweet teſtimony of Gods ſpecial favour and tender care over them. Pſal. 149. 9. *By this I know that thou favoureſt me, that mine enemy doth not triumph over me.* Pſal. 41. 11.

3. He doth it to quicken his people unto a more lively and elevated ſtrain of celebrating his prayſes: Such ſtrange and unexpected deliverances make a deeper impreſſion upon the hearts of men: The *Jews* days of *Purim* to be celebrated by them and their Poſterity throughout every generation, that the memorial of their deliverance might not periſh from their ſeed, aroſe from ſuch a deep impreſſion: and ſo alſo the holy reſolution of the Pſalmiſt: *While I live I will prayſe the Lord, I will ſing prayſes unto my God, while I have any being.* Pſal. 146. 2.

4. He

4. He doth it, that all the world may take notice, that *it is he who ruleth in Heaven and in*
Pſal. 135. 6. *Earth, who doth whatſoever he pleaſeth in Heaven and in Earth, in the Sea and all deep places.*

Applicat. But though God worketh his great works of mercy in ſuch a manner, as it even aſtoniſheth us with admiration, and maketh us like men that dream, yet let us not be like men that dream, or that ſleep, when we offer up our praiſes to him for ſuch mercies: Let not us the people of this Nation, be ſo dull in praiſing God for that great deliverance now wrought for us, as if we reckoned it but a pleaſant dream. God hath now given us a pretty ſpace to come to our ſelves, if we entertain his mercy like ſober Chriſtians, and do not (as ſome lay to the charge of ſome rejoycers) drink away the religious ſenſe of it. It is time for us now to compoſe our ſpirits to a thankſgiving-frame, yea an high frame ſuteable to the greatneſs of the mercy. Though at firſt we were like men that dream, yet let us not continue ſo ſtill, at leaſt let us not do worſe, when the mercy is ſo clearly aſſured to us, that we are ſure we dream not, let us not lye down again and ſleep in our ſins as ſecurely, as if God had done nothing at all to awaken us. Let this day of ſolemnity rouſe us up, which alarms us to praiſe our great and gracious God. Look every one of you to the tuning of your own Inſtruments, your own hearts, and let every of us awaken our own ſouls to bear their part in this conſort of ſinging praiſes to God, as

David

David did. *Awake up my glory, awake Pſaltery and Harp, I my ſelf will awake right early.* Pſal. 57. 8.

Obſerv. 5. *That common and natural rejoycing, in ſuch wonderful mercies of God, is lawful and comely, if uſed lawfully.* *Obſerv.* 5.

When the mouths of Gods people here were filled with laughter, this (as I have noted before) was a joy no better then natural: yet ſure it was lawful, or elſe the people of God would never have ſo rejoyced, or at leaſt, if they had done it, the Pſalmiſt here would not have thus ſpoken of it, if there had been any unlawfullneſs in it. But to put the matter out of doubt, we ſhall find it ſo, not only here, but alwayes, or at leaſt moſt commonly with the people of God, after great deliverances of mercy. Thus the *Jews*, when the malicious plot of proud *Haman* was defeated, kept a day then and in following generations, of feaſting and joy, *a good day* (as they called it) wherein they ſent portions one to another; which was but fewel to feed a natural joy. And ſo the *Iſraelites*, after *David* had ſlain *Goliah*, whoſe dreadful ſtature and ſtrength, with his proud brags, had ſtrucken the *Iſraelitiſh* Hoſt into a chill fear, when they returned back from the ſlaughter of the *Philiſtines*, they were met with a company of women out of all Cities, with Tabrets and Inſtruments of Muſick, ſinging and dancing. This joy was but of the common and vulgar ſtamp, yet ſure if it had been to be reproved, it would have never been related ſo barely in holy Writ, Eſth. 9. 19. 1 Sam. 18. 6.

without any touch of diſlike. But what need I ſay much, in a matter ſo clear and of no greater conſequence?

Applicat. I ſhall not need to excite any of you this day unto this kind of rejoycing. It hath been and continues ſo great Univerſally every where, that never was it ſo ſeen before in our *Iſrael*, nor ever perhaps the like cauſe. This joy is as free in the Nation, as was once the cheerful devotion of the
Exod. 36. 6. *Jews*, bringing in their gifts for the Tabernacle: There needs no Trumpet to blow it up, but perhaps (as then) more need of a Proclamation to reſtrain it: yet I am far from *Judas*'s repining, *Why is this waſt of the Ointment?* Only give me leave to give you a ſeaſonable caution touching this kind of rejoycing. Remember that all natural rejoycing walks upon the very brink of carnal rejoycing: If your heads grow but a little giddy with natural joy, it is an hundred to one if ye fall not into the ſtream of carnal joy, and ſtick not faſt in the black mud of it. All our affections in truth are as a ſtream, with much mud of corruption at the bottom. Little or no mud appears when they over-flow not the banks of Religion or Reaſon: But when they riſe very high, they are commonly like waters in a floud, much ſoyled and ſullyed with mud. If our preſent exceſs of joy be only ſullyed with a little vanity, it will be more pardonable, if the mud of drunkenneſs and debauchery doth not make it look black and ſtink, not only in the noſtrils of God, but of all our pious companions in this joy.

Obſerv.

Obſerv. 6. *That though natural rejoycing in Gods wonderful Deliverances doth begin the dance, yet religious and ſpiritual rejoycing muſt follow and keep meaſure with it.* Obſerv. 6.

If at the firſt riſing it flies neer the ground, yet like an Hawk, it muſt wind about to mount up higher: If it be no more then the joy of laughter, it is but as *the crackling of thorns under a pot:* Eccleſ. 7. 6. Our tongues ſhould alſo be filled with ſinging: *Is any man merry? let him ſing Pſalms* (ſaith St. *James*) James 5. 13. Is any man cheerfully affected, or filled with joy through any great bleſſing of God? (though it be not material to keep ſtrictly to the very letter of the word in ſinging of Pſalms, yet) let him tune and quicken his heart, and let him elevate his ſpirit (as the voyce is in ſinging) to celebrate the praiſes of God. It was ſo ordinary with the ancient people of God, upon the receipt of great bleſſings, and after gracious deliverances, to ſing ſongs of praiſe unto God, that if we do not alwayes read it was done, yet, we have no reaſon to conceive it left undone; yea, not only with them, but it hath been the received cuſtom of all Nations in the world, to offer up their Sacrifices and Solemnities of Praiſe (after their manner) upon ſuch occaſions to thoſe Deities, from whom they conceived the bleſſing, which they rejoyced in, to deſcend: yea, rather then fail of paying their thanks to ſome Divine Power, they were ready to dedicate an Altar *To the Unknown God.* The very light of Nature, Act. 17. 23.

ture, as it ties, ſo it hath taught all men to offer up praiſes to the God of their Salvation.

But why theſe Thankſgivings were commonly offered up in Songs (ſo as now praiſing God, ſinging to him, and Thankſgiving are become *Synonyma*, words of the ſame ſignification) we may conceive theſe three reaſons.

1. Becauſe it requires a ſerious and ſomewhat ſtudious meditation to compoſe a Song.

2. A more lively elevation of ſpirit then ordinary, both in compoſing and ſinging.

3. Becauſe ſuch things as are ſetled a little in our memories by a Song, (as if that faculty did take delight in ſuch meaſures, or were much helped by them) are longer retained uſually, and oftner called to mind.

Now all theſe things are very neceſſary in us, that we may praiſe God as we ought for his eminent mercies, and great deliverances.

1. It becomes us to meditate and ſtudy, how to frame our hearts and tongues fit for ſuch praiſes of God as may be ſomewhat ſuitable to ſo great a bleſſing.

2. It is reaſon that we ſhould raiſe up our ſpirits to a livelineſs more then ordinary at ſuch a time.

3. That we ſhould retain the remembrance of ſuch mercies for ever, and often call them actually into our minds.

Whether for theſe or other reaſons, this we find howſoever; that it was an uſual manner to celebrate the Praiſes of God in Hymns or Songs. Thus

we

we have the Song of *Moſes*, after the overthrow of the *Egyptians*; the Song of the *Iſraelites*, after God had given them water in the Wilderneſs; the Song of *Deborah* and *Barak*, the Song of *Hannah*, the Song of *Hezekiah*, after his recovery, wich is called *the writing of Hezekiah*, becauſe it was written in *Votiva Tabula*, a Table dedicated and hung up (as ſome Interpreters conceive) in the Temple, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, as an everlaſting monument of his thankfulneſs. What ſhould I ſpeak of the many Hymns or Pſalms of *David?* They are enough to afford us a manual of praiſes for all occaſions. And what he ſo frequently did himſelf, he as frequently exhorteth others alſo to do the ſame. *Sing unto the Lord, bleſs his Name, ſhew forth his Salvation from day to day. Sing forth the honour of his Name, make his Praiſe glorious.*

Exod. 15. 1. Numb. 21. 17. Judg. 5. 7. 1 Sam. 2. 1. Pſal. 96. 2. Pſal. 66. 2.

Let it not therefore ſuffice us (dear Chriſtians) that we have vented our ſelves ſo freely in a way of common rejoycing: This is but like the outſide or hide of our inward joy, not fit to be offered unto God in Sacrifice: there muſt be a ſecond courſe of rejoycing ſerved in after that groſs joy, a ſober, religious, hearty, ſolemn thankſgiving. I confeſs there is a neceſſary uſe of the natural ſpirits of joy in the ſolemnity of a religious Thankſgiving. As Incenſe cannot be offered without fire to make it burn: ſo neither can there be a ſpiritual rejoycing without ſome ſpirits of natural to bear it up. The children of *Iſrael* could not get their hearts in tune to ſing a Song of *Zion*, when they ſate by the waters of *Babylon*. When they that carryed them captive

Applicat.

Psal. 137. 1, 2, 3, 4. and wasted them, said unto them, *Sing us one of the Songs of* Zion: *How* (said they) *shall we sing the Lords Song in a strange Land?* There was something in it, that *Elisha* called for a Minstrel 2 King. 3. 15. to play: the Scripture tells us, *It came to pass, while the Minstril played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him.* The Musick it seems composed and cheered his spirit, fitting it to deliver to those Kings the joyful tidings of an happy success. But yet though there be a good use of the spirit of natural joy, they are never theless but the Crab-stock upon which a religious rejoycing may well be grafted. Will you let a Crab-stock stand in your Orchard, being sufficiently rooted, without grafting some good cien upon it to bear you pleasant fruit? While therefore your hearts are so frolick and cheerful with natural rejoycing, is it not good time now to graft upon it a religious, sober, hearty, cheerful thanksgiving unto God, for this his so great mercy towards us? Yes, it is high time, and a good season yet; but ye know the time of grafting will be over, if ye neglect the due season. What means all our great blazes of outward joy, if our hearty praises of God do not in some measure answer them? He that carryeth fire in a censer, and hath no Incense ready to burn upon it, it may serve for the use of his own hearth, it is not for Gods Altar. Our rejoycing is to our selves, not to God, unless it quicken us to celebrate his praises. But oh, let not our good God find in us a cause to say, what *Isaac* once said to his Father; *Behold, the fire and the wood, but where is the*

Lamb

Lamb for a Burnt-offering? Here is fire enough of outward joy, and wood enough laid on to make it flame high, but where is the Sacrifice? where are those hearty cheerful praises that should be offered to me for a sweet smelling Savour?

Observ. 7. *That God is pleased many times to work deliverances for his people in so glorious and conspicuous a manner, that it draws the eyes even of aliens and strangers to take notice of, and admire the great things which he doth for them.* Observ. 7.

This deliverance of his people was such, that *they said among the Heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them:* The bright beams of Gods favour in such mercies very often shine further with their light, then they warm with their heat. *All the ends of the world* (saith the Psalmist) *have seen the salvation of God:* yea, but all the ends of the world, though they saw it, yet did not feel the benefit of it. The Heathen, who are out of the pale of the Church, cannot gather those curious flowers, of mercie which God planteth in that garden, nor perhaps come so neer as to smell the sweetness of them, until God openeth to them a fair way of entrance into it: yet they may perhaps look over the pale, or through the pale to see somewhat of their beauty at a distance: yet howsoever, God gets more honour to himself, and deserves a greater honour from his people, when he sheweth his righteousness openly (his great favours Psal. 98. 3. Psal. 98. 2.

to

to his people openly) *in the ſight of the Heathen,* ſo that he even forceth them to confeſs, as here; *The Lord hath done great things for them.*

Applicat. Might it not then do us ſome good (Brethren) if we would but take good notice, what Forreiners and Strangers of other Nations think and ſay of this great work of mercy, which God hath now wrought for theſe three united Nations? Can they ſay leſs of it, then that God hath done great things for us? And ſhall not we bluſh for ſhame, we who feel and taſte every day, and have ſuch hopes to taſte every day, more freely of this great mercy of God; if we ſhould ſay no more then they ſay, and do no more then they do? Should not our hearty and real thankfulneſs, equal and exceed their wonder? our high praiſes go beyond their high admiration? If our ſenſe of ſo great a mercy doth not draw more from us, then the ſight of it from them, it is ſure, becauſe we want ſenſe, at leaſt we have not a true and right ſenſe of it. If we only joy in it like ſenſual men, ot wonder at it like ſleepy dreamers, not yet fully awakened, it may be ſpoken to us as Chriſt once ſaid to his Diſciples, What ſingular thing do you? *What do ye more then others?* Do not even the Heathen? do not forreiners and ſtrangers do the ſame? It is for thoſe who feel not the cordial warmth and refreſhing of this mercy, to ſay and confeſs coldly, It was a very ſtrange and wonderful providence of God: but for us who were lately like that poor *Egyptian* ſervant, left by the *Amalekites* in the Wilderneſs, pining, and ready to give up the ghoſt with hopeleſneſs,

Mat. 5. 46, 47.

1. Sam. 30. 12.

leſneſs, but now are ſo refreſhed with this mercy, that our ſpirit is come again to us, for us what can we do leſſe then ſay, *Bleſſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me, bleſſe his holy Name.* It is not enough for us to ſay no more then ſtrangers, *The Lord hath done great things for us*, but it becomes us to ſay, *We will alſo do great things for him*, and not only to ſay it, but doe it. And although we cannot in truth do any great things for God anſwerable to the great things which he hath done for us, not the King himſelf, nor the honourable houſes of Parliament, nor both together, no nor the whole Nation with them, (for when they and we have done all, it muſt ſtill be confeſſed, *We are unprofitable ſervants, we have done that which was our duty to do*) yet it is a time both for them and us, when God hath done ſo great things for us, to put forth the beſt endeavours to do (if not great things, yet) as great as we are able, for God and his Sonne the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And truely now is there a time, if we ever knew any, wherein it may well be ſaid, *Domino opus eſt*, The Lord hath need of ſome to do great things for him. Nor do I doubt but our gracious King and his honourable Houſes of Parliament have had this long agoe in their ſerious thoughts, *Quid retribuemus Domino? What ſhall we render again to the Lord?* and I hope they ſhall not want Remembrancers amongſt thoſe *Watchmen*, who are ſet upon the walls of our *Jeruſalem, who will not keep ſilence, nor give God or them any reſt, untill our Jeruſalem be eſtabliſhed and made a praiſe in the whole earth.*

Pſal 103. 1.

Luke 17. 1.

Math. 21. 3.

Iſaiah 62. 6, 7.

Thus have I now run through all the matters of chief note in this portion of Scripture: I ſhall now come to apply that which hath been ſpoken (though it hath been done in part already) more directly and fully to the occaſion of our ſolemn meeting this day; and herein I ſhal aim only at theſe three things.

1. To move you to conſider, into what a miſerable captivity and ſlavery God had lately given up our *Zion*, for our high provoking ſins: though he formerly had manifeſted, how dear and precious a people we were in his eyes, by as viſible, remarkable, and extraordinary tokens of his ſpeciall favour, as may be expected by any people.

2. To draw you to conſider throughly, how the Lord hath turned again our Captivity, ſo as we cannot but acknowledge it to be his doing, and how ſuddainly, ſtrangely, and unexpectedly he hath done it, ſo as we could at firſt ſcarcely believe our owne ſenſes, or think it any other but our own golden dream.

3. To ſtirre you up to offer unto God the author of this our great deliverance, ſuch reall *ſacrifices of thanksgiving*, and to ſing to him ſuch *ſongs of praiſe*, that he being well pleaſed with our returns, may ſtil go on to perfect his work of mercy begun, ſo as that every day it may become more and more glorious to himſelf, and more and more joyfull to us.

1. I ſhall lead you to conſider into what a miſerable ſlavery and Captivity the juſt judgement of God, puniſhing us for our ſins with our ſins, had caſt us.

Ye will think perhaps this a ſad Subject, and unfit for ſo joyfull a day.

Were it not better (may ſome ſay) *to forget thoſe daies of our ſorrow, like a woman in travail, who, after ſhe is delivered, remembreth no more the anguiſh, for joy that a man is born into the world?* Joh. 16. 21.

Truely I ſhould willingly enough have accorded to ſuch a motion, but that there is an unavoidable neceſſity to draw the black ground of our former ſlavery in the ſame table, wherein we deſire to ſet forth a lively repreſentation of the wonderfull mercy of God towards us in delivering us from it. For I foreſee well enough, that this word of Slavery will ſound harſhly in the ears of ſome men. All thoſe who have ſo long cried up theſe our unhappy times of diviſion and Anarchy, as glorious and bleſſed daies of liberty, will look aſquint upon me: And many others who have ſuffered little themſelves, and want that blood of Chriſtian Charity in their veines, to make them compaſſionate of their brethrens ſufferings; and ſuch alſo whoſe ignorance did not afford them foreſight enough to apprehend the extreme danger we were in, of ſinking deeper into a more miſerable ſlavery, will thinke perhaps this word of Slavery to reliſh of too much bitterneſs. But truely I ſpeak no more of our former late condition, then what my Senſe and Reaſon (tempered with Charity) convinces me to be apparent truth, and what I ſhall demonſtrate clearly (I ſuppoſe) to all but ſuch as are blinded with the wages of their unrighteouſneſſe, or hardned through their former diſorders, or preſent willfulneſſe.

What? were we not under a miſerable ſlavery and captivity? If I had nothing elſe to offer in proof of this but one thing, which I am ſure no man can deny (and yet who can ſpeak of it without ſighs and tears?) it were enough.

Was not our *dread Soveraign*, the light of our *Iſrael*, our late *King of glorious and bleſſed memory* (who, howſoever he were ignominiouſly treated both in words and deeds by ſome deſperate wicked men, who ſought, and at length compaſſed his deſtruction, yet never went leſs in my thoughts, and of many millions beſides, ſober and pious Chriſtians, then for the moſt vertuous, pious, juſt, gratious and fatherly Prince, that ever yet reigned over theſe Nations) was not he (I ſay) brought under the ſtate of a miſerable Captive? What liberty was left him, but what the grace of God and the nobleneſſe of his own ſpirit (which are uncaptivable) gave him? yea, he dyed and periſhed (as to the outward man) in ſuch a Captivity, to the great ſin and ſhame of the whole Nation, and to the heart-breaking and unſpeakeable ſorrow of thouſands and millions of his faithfull loyall Subjects. If we had ſuffered no captivity or ſlavery in our own perſons, yet were we not all Captives in him? He that did not feel himſelf ſo then, may ſuſpect his own heart to want ſomething that is required in a good Chriſtian, and a loyall Subject. Alas! his ſufferings were ſuch, as (except the ſufferings of our bleſſed Saviour) ſcarce any miſerable Captive ever underwent the like, all circumſtances conſidered. Our bleſſed Saviour once cryed from

Heaven

Heaven againſt *Saul*, as perſecuting him, when yet himſelf was far above the reach of his rage: it was only his members whom he perſecuted. He reckons that he was an *Hungred, Thirſty, Naked, Sick, and in Priſon*, when this was not his own, but only the caſe of his poor members. Acts. 9. 4. Mat. 25. 35.

And might not we complain as juſtly, that we were Captives, when our head and King was captive, and that a ſword pierced through our hearts, when that fatall blow cut off him? Could we be free, when he was ſo captivated? Or were we ever ſuch fools, to look for any better then a ſtate of miſerable ſlavery under thoſe curſed hypocritical wretches, who had captivated thus wickedly their own and our Soveraign?

But if this weighs too little with you to convince you of our late miſerable ſlavery, let us come to that which our ſelves have both ſeen, and heard, and felt. That will be enough (unleſſe our reaſon and underſtanding were taken from us together with our ancient freedome) to convince any man ſufficiently.

What, I pray, of all that we call ours, was left us free, if lyable to the power of tyrannicall Uſurpers? Were not our perſons under a grievous ſlavery, when we were forced to obey known Uſurpers, and that firſt one, then another, then a third, and we knew not who the next day? To obey all theſe altogether contrary to our own liking, and in things as contrary to our liking as their authority, and as apparently contrary to our own good as to our liking, and as much contrary to our good

lawes as to all the other, was not this a miſerable ſlavery to underſtanding ingenuous and honeſt Spirits? Though there were ſome of our ancient good lawes left in being, (the beſt comfort and ſolace in our miſery) yet which of them did they ſcruple ever to break, if the breach of it might ſerve to carry on and compaſs their wicked ambitious deſignes? Was not our *Magna Charta* as much deſpiſed by them as one of the *Popes* Buls? Their Rule was odious and deteſtable to all, but ſuch as either were bribed with a ſhare in their impious ſacriledges and ravenous pillagings, or elſe had their judgements miſerably diſtorted with Schiſme, or were much pleaſed with an indulgence to vent their wild dreams and hereticall blaſphemous fancies, or over-awed with a baſe fear, or won with ſome baſer hope of advantages, to proſtitute their ſouls and conſciences to a ſervile flattery of any men whoſoever were in power, and to the impudent palliating of any thing whatſoever they did. Were not the perſons of very many of our fellow Subjects, (if not our owne) and thoſe not of the meaner rank, but of the nobler, and of great quality, under a captivity and ſlavery, when without any fault committed, any law tranſgreſſed, yea without any the leaſt thought or intention of evill to any, (that ever yet was made to appear) they were without any proceſſe of law in times of peace (if any times might be called ſuch ſince our late diviſions, yet if they might not, we were out of hope of ever ſeeing any other that might) they were (I ſay) ſeiſed upon by armed force, and carried away hither

ther and thither into remote places from their own dwellings, and clapt up in close and stinking prisons? yea there hath been a time wherein (as if the Land could not afford prisons enough) many of our fellow Subjects for no other crime but Loyalty, (which was looked upon by some men, as if it had been the sin against the Holy Ghost) were imprisoned on ship-board, and almost stifled under the hatches, with threatnings to be transported God knows whither: and all this to still the restless jealousies and feares of tyrannicall Usurpers, which are impossible to be ever stilled. For *the wicked are, like the troubled Sea, when it cannot rest.* Isai. 57. 20.

Were not our estates under a Captivity and slavery with Sequestrations? How legall, let our learned Lawyers determine, it is out of my sphere: but how rigorous, unjust, and causeless, any common man might discern with half an eye: And with exactions illegall (I may boldly say that) when our Lords and masters not only by the consent and gift of our Representatives in *Parliament*, (whom we found free enough to give, and a great injurie hath been done to some of them, if some did not share also deeply in those free givings) but without their consents, yea without any formality or shew of it, imposed and levied taxes from us by their own arbitrary power, and yet (though the meanest Subject knew this to be contrary to our lawfull rights and liberties, yea and though the whole *Nation* had bound themselves with a Protestation to maintain and defend with their lives, powers and estates such lawfull rights and liberties) for all this, did we not buckle

buckle (for fear of ſomething worſe) to ſubmit unto ſuch arbitrary power as very ſlaves? And truly this was no great wonder. For we had ſeen our very Repreſentatives in *Parliament*, the *Aſylum* and *Sanctuarie* of our *Engliſh Libertie* (which never before was ſo boldly violated ſince it firſt had a being) we had ſeen our Repreſentatives (I ſay) even thoſe whom we moſt highly honoured of them, and who indeed were moſt worthy of high honour (but, God forgive us, we had before too much idolized them as *Demi-gods, not men*, to the undoing of them and our ſelves, and more then our ſelves, our late *gracious Soveraign*) we had ſeen them uſed as captives, and ſlaves, and forcibly carried away by a baſe-born inſolent fellow (who in his name, *Pride*, bare the abſtract of his diſpoſition) and detained as Priſoners, and excluded from a diſcharge of their truſt, and ever ſince ſecluded from any return thereto, that there might be none left to hinder the full perfecting of our deſtruction, and ſlavery. Were we not then under an open ſlavery, when the very ſanctuary of all our Liberties was violated, and our Repreſentatives were thruſt out of their Sanctuary, and could not make good neither our Liberties nor their own? And what (I beſeech you) have all our *Parliaments* ever ſince been, untill now, but *magni nominis umbræ*? Now by the great mercy of God to this *poor Nation* they have indeed recovered their antient venerableneſſe in this preſent one, which is full and free, not only free from without from military force and awe, but free within (which is the beſt freedome) from the biaſs of

of all factions and paſſions. But what have they been untill now for the moſt part, but either a company of men ſprung out of the earth, without any voice of our election to impower them, or if choſen by us, then picked and cull'd, taken in and ſhut out at the pleaſure of our great Lords and Maſters? yea and thoſe which remained have been but as honourable priſoners in a kind of *libera cuſtodia*, to frame their votes or forbear them, according to the pleaſure and deſigns of the ſword men. What other conſiderable uſe hath been made of them, but to improve their votes as the faireſt way, to juggle or conjure monies out of our purſes without noyſe or tumult?

But if ye would ſee a lively picture of our ſlavery, call to mind that ſorry ſe-baptizing Conventicle, which we knew not what to call, till upon mature deliberation they reſolved to ſtile themſelves a *Parliament*. Though there were amongſt them ſome wiſe and worthy men, who (I believe) much againſt their own judgments and likings went in amongſt them, no otherwiſe then ſome peaceable men may ſtep in amongſt thoſe that are making a fray, to prevent the miſchief which otherwiſe would be greater: ſo they were content to ſit amongſt them, laſt the ignorance and hair-brained violence of ſome bold *Phanatiques* ſhould have thrown the *Nation* at one caſt into utter confuſion: yet ſet aſide ſome few ſuch, what did that aſſembly conſiſt of, but a company of mechanical, unqualyfied perſons, inconſiderable for extraction, inconſiderable for education, inconſiderable for eſtates, in-

conſiderable for wiſdome or experience of affairs, and conſiderable for nothing elſe, but *pride*, *faction*, *violence*, *hypocriſie*, and an unparallel'd boldneſs, ready to adventure upon a buſineſſe ſo openly deſtructive to their own and to the whole *Nations* fundamentall liberties? And yet theſe men began a Precedent of the greateſt danger that ever was, to have overthrown for ever the whole *Nations* right of election, and the true foundation of that *Parliamentary* power which reſides in the *Houſe of Commons* (which we hope will not be forgotten by that honourable Houſe at their better leiſure, as the greateſt grievance which the *Engliſh Subjects* ever ſuffered, or can ſuffer in their liberties) and theſe men took upon them an authority to make Laws to bind us, and to alter matters ſettled both in Church and State (with ſuch wiſdome as made them ridiculous to all men almoſt of common ſenſe) and to do one thing greater then all the reſt, to transfer the *ſupream Authority* over us unto that murtherous *Vſurper*, who doubtleſſe had plotted all this pageant for the ſame purpoſe, to hide his ambitious uſurpation under ſome vayle, though never ſo thin a Cobweb. What were we then, I pray, whileſt all theſe things were doing, and quietly done without any ſtrugling, if we were not ſlaves? Surely the *antient*, *noble*, *heroick*, *free ſpirit of the Engliſh* was retyred, like the ſap of trees in the winter, into the ground, which now of late began to ſhoot up again as upon the return of a ſpring. For indeed we had forſaken God and highly provoked him, and he had forſaken us, and taken away from us as well our Spirits, as all probable means

means of recovery, and in contempt of us ſuffered ſuch baſe men to ride over our heads.

But if this be not enough to convince us, that our perſons, eſtates, and lawes too were under a ſlavery, I wiſh that ye could meet withall or would find out and ask ſome of our brethren and fellow-ſubjects who were bought and ſold as ſlaves, (and that which was their lot might have paſſed by that example to have become ours as well as theirs) ask them what was their condition: but God knows now into what remote *Ilands* I ſend you to ask them, for I know it not my ſelf. Ah! was there ever the like heard amongſt Chriſtians? That a Chriſtian and free-born perſon ſhould be bought and ſold againſt his will by another Chriſtian, and conveyed againſt his will he knowes not whither? Though it be ordinary with the *Turks* to buy and ſell ſlaves, as commonly as we buy Cattell, yet to a free-born *Muſulman* (as they call them) of their own profeſſion, I think (if I be not miſtaken) that they offer not ſo vile an indignity.

But were not our lives alſo brought under a miſerable ſlavery by that new invention which was conſecrated with the bloud of our late *gracious Soveraign*? He like a *noble Prince* choſe rather to become his peoples *Martyr*, then that ſuch a Monſter (if either his power or his death could have hindered it) ſhould be brought in to devour his people. For he foreſaw, that it muſt be fed ever and anon with ſacrifices of ſome moſt noble or loyall bloud, as it hath been hitherto ever ſince: ye all know what I mean; it is the pretended *High*

Court of Juſtice, the only ſure trap to inſnare thoſe whom our great Lords had deſtinated to death, yet the conſciences of indifferent Jury's (they feared) would reſcue and ſave: yea (if it had been poſſible) we muſt not have kept our reaſon or ſenſe free from ſlavery: we muſt have believed the higheſt Tyranny to have been a glorious liberty (as they were pleaſed to call it) the diſorderly confuſion of all things in the Church, to be a bleſſed Reformation, the inſupportable oppreſſions of the *Nation* to be a relaxation of our burthens, the overſpreading of hereſies and blaſphemies to be glorious rayes of new light, yea an univerſall toleration to be the uſher unto Chriſts Monarchy, and a way to prepare him ſuch a Throne in this World, as he never yet had, nor (we believe) ever will: we muſt have believed (I ſay) all theſe things in deſpite of our reaſon and ſenſe, or at leaſt have heard all this moſt impudently affirmed in publick, with ſuch patient ears and countenances as might carry a ſhew of believing it, which alone were a ſlavery ill enough to an ingenuous and free Spirit.

But ſome perhaps will ſay, Yea but all this time we enjoyed a free liberty of Conſcience, which is worth all: many tender conſcienced perſons were free from thoſe heavy burthens under which they once groaned: were we not happy in that in comparison of which all other things are but trifles?

O that it had been ſo! that we might but have enjoyed that liberty without fiercer perſecutions ten

fold

fold, then thoſe whereof men heretofore madeſo loud complaints. Let other men (if they pleaſe) blind their eyes, whoſe conſciences perhaps are more tender on the left ſide, then on the right, and have little feeling on that ſide: but for my part, if God hath given me any ſenſe in my conſcience (which I am aſſured of) or any eyes of reaſon in my underſtanding, there never was in my memory a time of ſo little Liberty for conſciences really and knowingly tender. That indeed hath been the thing very much cryed up: the very glorious Name of it hath been the *Trojan horſe* to bring in moſt of our miſchiefs indiſcoverably; God forbid it ſhould continue or renew them. I hope after ſo much experience of our times, there will by the prudence of authority, be a diſtinction made betwixt Conſciences knowingly tender, and really or ſimply tender, and conſciences ſuperciliouſly, frowardly, wilfully, humorouſly, or politickly tender. The devill may be in the will, when he pretends to the conſcience as his Sanctuary, (as a late Divine, as great a patron to tender conſciences as any man, hath excellently diſcovered:) There are Conſciences without doubt knowingly, really, ſincerely tender. If any be ſuch, or have but the likely face of ſuch, who would not favour them? Whoſoever ſeeks to keep a good Conſcience himſelf, is alwaies charitably tender of another mans. But there hath appeared ſo little of this tenderneſſe towards others, in many of thoſe who have enjoyed their own Liberties freely to do and ſpeak whatſoever they pleaſed, that I have not ſaid it without cauſe; There never was a time of

Jeremiah Burroughs Irenicum cap. 6. throughout.

putting harder and heavyer yoaks upon consciences really tender, then this time of our late Captivity. What snares have been cunningly laid for them by Oaths, Protestations, Covenants, Engagements &c? So much Sugar of fair words have been in them, and the Rats-bane so hidden and unsuspected, that very few could discern it, untill it afterwards appeared in the working: yet some men of tender consciences, who either saw more, or had stronger suspicions, were without all pity stripped of their estates and livelyhood, because they could not in conscience swallow such baits roundly. Such men, though of great knowledge and unblamable conversation, were not allowed by the charity of our times to have any consciences at all, but only stomacks: So there was no liberty afforded to their consciences, taking it first, as granted that they had none: Besides what reall contrarieties have there been (or at least so seeming, that it might trouble the heads and consciences of wise and pious men to reconcile them) in Protestations and Covenants impосed at one time, and at another time Engagements and Subscriptions, if not plainly contrary one to another, yet at least not well agreeing with the truest sense and honestest meaning of our former oaths of Allegiance? At one time they binde us in a Solemn Covenant under an high penalty or dread of refusing it; at another time, having shamefully broken it themselves, they sleight it as an old Almanack out of date, and draw on others to break it, and are much displeased with those who could not openly brook such a foul wounding of their Conscience. Were these then

then the times, that made ſo good proviſion for the libertie of tender conſciences? What ſhould I ſpeak now of the many ſolemn daies of Thankſgivings impoſed upon us for ſuch victories wherein the bloud of our dear brethren was ſhed in a Civill warre? How hard was it for ſuch peaceable Spirits, who never joyed in this war, nor durſt ever ſound a Trumpet to kindle or foment it, to ſatisfie themſelves in conſcience, that God would accept ſuch prayſes, or that they ſhould therein offer any other but the ſacrifice of fools? For they could not find the leaſt example or warrant in Scripture for ſolemn thanksgivings upon ſuch ſad occaſions; and might not be ignorant, that the very Heathens out of common principles of reaſon and humanity had forborn their triumphs and ſolemnities of thankſgivings for the victories of civill wars: I cannot but remember one of thoſe thankſgiving daies above all the reſt, I can not now in particular call to mind for what ſucceſs it was, only I am certain it was in the year 1650. There was then a day of thankſgiving appointed to be kept upon that fatall black day in *January*, wherein two years before they had barbarouſly murthered our late *gracious Soveraign*. Could not thoſe men foreſee? nay, did they not foreſee it well enough, how infinitely grievous it would be to the greateſt part of this *Nation*, to put on a face of joy upon ſuch a day which could not but renew the remembrance of their deepeſt ſorrows? What was this but to give gall and vinegar to drink (as the *Jews* once to our Saviour in his paſſion) unto many thouſand crucified hearts? Yet

as

as if it had been a pleasure to them to triumph in their horrid sin, or as if they had been ambitious to trample upon the consciences of an heart-broken people, they appointed even this day for a solemn Thanksgiving, which were more fit to be kept for ever by this Nation as a day of publick humilliation (as strictly as the day of attonement by the *Jews*) both to appease the wrath of God for that horrid sin, and to keep the memory thereof in detestation unto all generations. Was this one of their tender respects to the consciences of men? But may not that great City afford us an instance of the liberty that was indulged to tender consciences? an instance, which they and the whole *Nation* could not but take notice of, when their most honourable Officer, the *Lord Mayor* was not only put out of his place (this had been fair and gentle) but imprisoned and (if I mistake not) deeply fined (at least indammaged many thousand pounds) and all this for what? Only because having used the best advice of Divines (as I have heard) to inform his conscience, and being willing to yeild to any thing but the deep violation of that with perjury, he could not comply with a command of theirs, being bound by a former oath which he conceived irreconcileable with their command: But it began now at length to appear more clearly, what liberty of conscience men really conscientious were likely to find under those hypocriticall grand Patrons (as they pretented) of such Liberty. For (as if they had not yet sufficiently tyrannized over the consciences of this poor *Nation*, nor involved it yet enough in the guilt

Levit. 23. 24, 28, 29.

Alderman *Reynardson* then Lo d Mayo r.

guilt of execrable perjury) they had at laſt contrived the moſt curſed ſnare, that could be found in the bottome of Hell, An oath of abjuration againſt the whole line of the *Royall ſtemme*, with a deſign to leave no perſon in Office, either in Church or ſtate or Armies, that ſhould refuſe it. But here God was pleaſed to take off theſe *Jehu's* chariot wheeles, and out of his compaſſion to the good Conſciences remaining in this Nation (wherein yet he had reſerved to himſelf many ſeven thouſands) to bound the proud waves of their ambitious tyranny. For otherwiſe, what would this curſed oath have ſerved for? It would have been a pound, into which they would have driven and pended up all the good conſciences in this *Nation* (as the *Papiſts* once by a plot drew in and ſhut up the moſt *noble Proteſtants* within the *Gates of Paris*,) and then (if it had been feiſible) would have made a general maſſacre of all the good Conſciences in this *Kingdome* ſo pent up; a thing worſe then the *Pariſian Maſſacre*. Thus was it and no better for libertie of conſcience. There were yoaks impoſed, and worſe prepared for the conſciences of this *Nation*, rhat might not only gall, but even ſtupifie and dead them altogether. And how could it be otherwiſe expected? Was it probable that men who had ſtupified their own conſciences by *Perjuries*, *Regicide*, and *Sacriledge* ſhould ever be tender over the conſciences of others, who had a perfect abhorrence of all ſuch horrid ſins, howſoever they might ſeem to favour the hypocritical tenderneſſe of other conſciences, who ſcrupled not at all a compliance with, and a flattery of them in all theſe?

But there will come a day, wherein it will appear (though loyalty and a good conſcience have been judged by ſome as incompatible) it will appear (I ſay) either in this world, or in the day of the revelation of Chriſts righteous judgment, that tenderneſſe of conſence is not a grace peculiar to thoſe only, who have Phariſaically claimed to themſelves the name of the Godly party, and impropriated the honour of tender conſciences to their party; who nevertheleſs after they had ſtrained at gnats could eaſily ſwallow Camels, who, to ſatiate their own ambition and covetouſneſs, could tack about to ſail with every wind, and to enrich themſelves, could ſmoothly ſwallow the *Kings inheritance*, the Churches patrimony, or any fiſh that came to net: but belongs to thoſe as much or rather, who have with patience ſuffered reproaches, perſecutions, impriſonements, who have taken joyfully the ſpoyling of their goods, and were prepared (if it had been the pleaſure of God) to ſuffer further, rather then deſert the principles of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and betray their own conſciences, in betraying it, who have been well content to live in mean conditions, with contempt, yea perhaps would rather have begged their bread from door to door, then have touched thoſe accurſed things, wherewith ſo many tender conſcienced men (forſooth) have ſo warmly feather'd their neſts.

Some men perhaps will be ready to think and ſay, that I have ſpoken all this out of ſome diſtemperd paſſion of anger, ſpleen, or revenge. God forbid that I ſhould bring ſuch unhallowed paſſions into

to this holy place. I tremble to do it, whatſoever others uncharitably may think or ſay. I have deliber ately calmed my ſpirit, and have ſpoken (if mine own heart deceive me not) with a Spirit free from anger, envy, hatred, or revengefull deſire towards any man living: Nor do I deſire to exaſperate your Spirits, which hear me, againſt any of thoſe who unwittingly or wittingly have been the Authors of leading us into this miſerable ſlavery, no not againſt thoſe who have ſtriven to continue and increaſe it upon us. If your ſpirits be inraged againſt men (though for their wickedneſs) how will ye come nigh the Altar of incenſe to offer up to God your praiſes? Let them repent and find mercy with God to forgive them, yea, if it ſeem good, let them find more mercy with men then they have ſhewed, or were ready to ſhew to others. My tr ue aim (as I told you at firſt) was only to ſhew clearly, that for our high provoking ſins, the God of heaven had given up this our *Zion* unto a miſerable ſlavery: this was to lay a ground that might make us more ſenſible of his wonderful mercy in turning again the captivity of our *Zion*: and this to raiſe up our hearts unto a more lively, h gher, and chearfuller prayſing of God for ſo great, invaluable and wonderfull mercy. It was, that when I had prepared you to entertain a deeper ſenſe of this great mercy of God, by looking back upon the miſery out of which it hath delivered you, ye might this day bring an *Abels* offering, the fat and beſt of your flock, the very marrow of all your affections to be offered to God in a ſacrifice of thanks-

giving. Thus have I done with the firſt thing, which I would have you to conſider this day; the next is to conſider how clearly the hand of God hath appeared in turning again our captivity, and how ſtrangely and unexpectedly he hath wrought it.

Applic 2. Who but the great and our gracious God hath wrought all this for us? Inſtruments he hath uſed divers, and of diverſe ſorts: but who but himſelf hath raiſed them up? who but he hath managed and overruled them? who but he hath bleſſed them with ſo admirable a ſucceſs? Some may be reckoned as his inſtruments to bring about this work, which were ſo ſtrange and unhandſome tools for ſuch a buſineſs, that none but ſo great and ſo wiſe a workman as God could have made uſe of ſuch bad tools in ſo good a work. For it ſeems clear enough to my obſervation (which ſome others perhaps will take no notice of) that God hath made uſe of many inſtruments, who never intended in the leaſt to ſerve him this way, but ſought more then any men on earth to have withheld this mercy from us, which (if we look into it) doth as clearly manifeſt the hand of God, as any thing elſe in the whole *ſeries* of this merciful provid ence: I will glance briefly at ſome preceding Providences which brought onwards this mercy inſenſibly and indiſcoverably to us, that now in the up-ſhot are fit to be taken notice of, that we may the more admire the overruling power and wiſdome of God, and praiſe him accordingly.

When th at firſt uſurper by extraordinary ſucceſſes and deep policies had ſetled himſelf with ſome kind of quietneſs in a power of dominion over us, far

far higher then any of our Kings ever exerciſed, and had provided (at leaſt in his own thoughts and aimes) for continuing it ſucceſſively in his own line, then God was pleaſed (before he had ſpun out the whole webbe of his *Matchiavilian* policies) to call him to an account in another world: His very *Effigies* kept a ſtate over us, for a while, as if it had been like *Alexanders tent*, and as if this poor ſpirited *Nation* ſhould ſtoop to a painted puppet. His ſon ſucceeds, a perſon more innocent, leſs ambitious, whoſe danger aroſe more from the envy of his Fathers friends, then from the hatred of his enemies: This man, though a young *Phaeton*, holds the rains more gently, eſpecially upon the heads of the *Royal party*, having carryed before a ſhew of approving the Kings right, more then his Fathers doings. His common ſaying (as is reported) was, that they did him no harm, nor would he doe them any; if they would not diſquiet him, he would not diſquiet them: This made that party which was trueſt and fierceſt for the Kings intereſt, to champ leſs upon the bridle, and not to foam ſo much at the mouth againſt him, as againſt his bloody hated Father, who ſtill encreaſed his hatred more and more, by drawing ſo often again and again much *honoured* and *beloved bloud*. This man begins in a way gratefull enough to the people, and by ſome popular flatterers had prepared himſelf a way to get the reputation (which before he had not) of a ſober pious man, and of ſingular parts. He calls together a *Parliament* fairly to be elected according to Law: and without any other defect, ſave in the

Authority,

Authority of the Caller, and abſence of the Lords (thoſe great ones I confeſs) a *Parliament* meets conſiſting for the moſt part of worthy and well temperd Gentlemen. Theſe finding him very tractable, and ready to comply with them in things reaonable for their publick good (or as ſome ſay ready to comply with the dearly beloved intereſt of a potent party) were inclinable enough (as was ſuppoſed) to have complyed with his intereſt, and to have ſetled him in his uſurped power, out of an earneſt (though prepoſterous deſire) to bring this *Nation* unto a ſpeedy ſettlement. Had this deſign ſucceeded (if any ſuch there were) it had been as great a block in the way to hinder us from the happy mercy we enjoy this day, as any that yet was ever laid, and if this block had been laid it had been done by many that were ſure the Kings friends, and very few his Enemies. The people generally were ſo fond of ſettlement, that they would have been quieted with any ſettlement, though ſtrangely botched up, if it had but carryed the name of being made by a Parliament. But God in his good providence keeps off this great block to the Kings Intereſt, when it was, as ſome have ſuppoſed, ready to be laid, keeps it off, I ſay, not by the acting of any of his friends but of his worſt enemies: if his friends were laying it, God ſtirs up his enemies (I mean by the Devil, as he ſtirred up *David* to number the people) to hinder the laying of ſo great a block, in the way of his *Majeſties* juſt right and intereſt. For the inſolent and ambitious great commanders (none forwarder then thoſe who were nearlyeſt tyed to him in alliance, and in probability ſhould

2 Sam. 24. 1.

ſhould have been faſteſt to him) they(to their own unforeſeen ruine) pul down *Richard* ſuddenly ,who reſigns as quietly , as if he had been willing to part with a ſtollen prey, and in likelyhood (if he had been able to do it) would have rather choſen to reſtore it to the true owner , then to have it ſo ignominiouſly rent from him by other ſtrong Thieves. Here began the firſt diviſion of the Army to heat their blouds one againſt another, & to weaken their Pretorian power : A ſtep this was,though never intended(ſave only by divine providence)towards that great mercy of God which we have now received.

The inſolent and ambitious officers (though it is likely the Devil even then had whiſpered into ſome or other of their ears , *Omna hæc tibi dabo*, I *will give thee all theſe things if thou wilt worſhip me*) yet were aſhamed or afraid at the firſt bluſh to own openly the mark at which doubtleſs one or more of them ſhot ; To vail their ambition for a while,they call together a remnant and the moſt guilty part of the *long late-Parliament*, a party who before were not very gratefull , but ſince that time hath become very contemptible and odious to the people,by an abuſive Nick-name of the *Rump*. And now theſe Commanders cry up the *Good old Cauſe*, (which themſelves ſure never intended to ſuffer to grow much older) but this cheat was now grown too ſtale to deceive the people any longer , this old bawde was even loathed by them,who had committed much fornication with her in her youth and flouriſhing age. Yet this ungratefull peice of Parliament did the *Nation* ſome ſervice , in repreſſing

Mat. 4 9.

ſing a little the inſolence of the ſouldiery, in bringing them to an acknowledgement (at leaſt formall) of a ſuperiour power, and keeping up ſome face of a civil Government. But when the ambitious plots of ſome Commanders were grown riper, and the Souldiery were moulded to bear no reſtraints of their inſolency, though never ſo gentle and reaſonable, or fearing leſt theſe old beaten Politicians ſhould out-wit them, and bring their power very low, then with-out any good manners at all they caſt out their late acknowledged Maſters violently out of doors; yet their diſſolution was not without a ſecond rupture and breach in the Army greater then the former; another ſtep tending to break the deſigns and weaken the power of his *Majeſties* enemies, and to make his way of entrance into his right more eaſy. Now ſprings up a new Name
Daniel 7. 7. and thing of Tyranny like *Daniels* fourth beaſt with iron teeth, more dreadfull and terrible then all the former, a meer armed power calling it ſelf a *Committee of Safety*, aſſuming to it ſelf an authority to repeal Acts of Parliament, to exact monies by their own decrees, and to contrive a new Government (yet unborn) and likely to be ſtifled by ſo many unſkilfull and diſagreeing Midwives in the birth) which yet the *Nation* muſt wait for, and though it proved but a Moon-calf, muſt own as ſent them by Jeſus Chriſt. For nothing but his *Monarchie* was now boldly cryed up. How did the whole *Nation* tremble in expectation of the birth of this Monſter? and now they began to lift up their hands and hearts unto God more earneſtly then ever for

a deliverer, and to turn their eyes more then ever towards him whom they longed to see; For they could hope of no other deliverer as sent of God, but only his gracious *Majesty* whom God hath now sent: they then (who had been blindest before) could easily foresee that this dreadfull Monster would not only fleece them or flea off their skins, but break all the ribs of our ancient Covernment, that were yet left untouched. God raiseth up in his Providence a power to prevent the birth of this *Monster*, and yet that power no friend at all to his *Majesties* intereſt, yet by a third diviſion in the Army they gave a fair way to give it a neerer acceſs: Theſe late extruded Members being much and juſtly inraged with a ſecond extruſion more diſgracefull then their firſt, riſe up with all their power and policies (being conſiderable for both) againſt their old Servants and new Maſters, and to ſtrengthen themſelves ſollicite (as was reported commonly) or command *Generall Monck* to March out of *Scotland* with his Army to their aid; He (good man) whether willing to ſerve any Maſters againſt ſo dreadfull a Monſter, or having then an honeſt intent in his boſome to ſerve his bleeding Native Country more then them, obeys and marches. Here begins the Comedy, unto which all the foreſaid tragicall Actors and actions (by a ſtrange providence of God) have been the Prologue (or at leaſt have built the ſtage for it) which now God hath cloſed with ſo happy an Epilogue, that this overjoyed *Nation* have made the Eccho of their *plaudite* ring all the World over. Had not theſe tragicall quarrels preceded, how

was it probable that ever yet for many years such a Comical of rejoycing should have befallen this poor *Nation*. But who wrought all this while for us in this strange way? Was it not he, who, as *Job* saith, *disappointeth the devises of the crafty, soe that their hands cannot perform their enterprise, who taketh the wise in their craftinesse*; and the Counsell of the froward is carryed headlong.

Job. 5. 12. 13.

Now God was pleased to have the Comedie begin. *General Monk* according to order begins his march. How extraordinarily doth God by his providence smooth all the way for him, not to meet with any the least rub! as if God had said to him as he did once to *Moses*, *Behold mine Angell shall go before thee*. An Army that lay to oppose him much stronger and better appointed then his (as knowing men report) melts away as dew before the sun (we know not how) and are scattered like stubble before the wind. He cometh without the least opposition unto our great *Metropolis* the famous *City*, with the greatest Courtings, Acclamations, and honourable Addresses from the whole *Nation* that ever were made to any Subject. But yet still that great *City* and this poor *Nation* with her (who could not but run one and the same fortune) stood wavering betwixt hope and fear, like a poor Prisoner at the Bar, when the lips of the *Judge* are opening to pronounce his sentence, but he knows not whether of life or death. His first actings strike such a deep impression of fear and horrour into the *City*, and the whole *Nation*, that of all the sad daies that

Exod. 32. 34.

ever

ever befell us ſince theſe unhappy diviſions, that (except one) was the ſaddeſt. How were the faces of men overſpread with paleneſs? their countenances dejected? and had not anger and indignation againſt the Actor (but eſpecially againſt the Authors commanding ſuch a deſpitefull act) kept up their Spirits with ſome fire in them, they were almoſt extinct with cold deſpair. But this ſure was but to give us a taſte of what odious commands proceed from tyrannicall Uſurpers, and what more might be expected, unleſs we would lay down our necks gently to take their yoak? or if there were any thing of his own in it, it was but his policy to indear his future actings, and make them more renowned and acceptable. For he ſpeedily comforts the diſconſolate *City* by a ſweet and cordial cloſing with their honeſt deſigns and intereſt: he gives us within a few daies a beginning of life by reſtoring ſome ſounder and skilfuller *Phyſicians* to heal the wounds of this *Nation*, which the other either could not, or would not doe: By theſe the lower ſtory of our antient form of Government (if I may call it ſo without offenſe) is in a ſhort time fairly and completely built up, then the upper ſtory (whoſe materials lay all ready framed) is quickly added, and by this the Head-ſtone is brought forth with ſhoutings, and we all cry, *Grace, Grace unto it*. But who hath wrought all theſe things for us, but that great and Gracious God of Heaven *who only doth marvellous things*? Zechar. 4. 7.

For if there were a ſpark of ſuch a Noble, honeſt loyall intention lying hid in the breaſt of the preſent

General (as ſome ſuppoſe) ever ſince he was captivated in the ſervice of his old *Royal Maſter*, and neceſſitated after that to ſerve other Maſters, yet who but the God of heaven could have preſerved that ſpark, when ſo many temptations like mountains of wet aſhes have been ſince then caſt upon it to quench it? Or who but the wiſe God could have endued him with ſo much wiſdome to keep it alive undiſcovered? which if it had been, they who could not perhaps have quenched it, would have quenched him and his power of bringing it thus to light? Or howſoever, who but the great diſpoſer of all things di d put into his hand ſo happy an opportunity to make uſe of it? Who but God by ſuch a ſpark could have kindled ſuch flames of joy all over this *Kingdome*? So that we muſt at length give the whole praiſe of bringing back the Captivity of our *Zion*, to the Lord and him alone. Yet this doth not lace us ſo ſtrait, but that we may pay ſome due thanks to all whom God hath been pleaſed to uſe as his inſtruments in this work; and we will thank them this day. We will thank our *Noble Generall* for his tender care over the Proteſtant Religion, for which he might eaſily ſee a grave prepared by the aſpiring bold *Phanatiques*, we will thank him for his compaſſion to his bleeding Country ready to draw the laſt breath of her dying liberty, for his loyalty to our *Gracious Soveraign*, and for his ſweet, amicable, ingenuous cloſing with that *Royal City*, when ſhe ſate in the duſt, and (if reports carry truth) was threatned to be turned into aſhes: we will thank the worthy Citizens for their wiſdome, loyalty, ſtout courage

courage, and readineſs to expend their treaſure, yea (if need had been) their blood to redeem themſelves and the reſt of this poor *Nation* from ſlavery: we will thank all thoſe noble Lords and Gentlemen throughout the *Nation*, who unanimouſly preferred their honeſt, juſt, rational and ſtout Declarations or addreſſes, adventuring their perſons to Priſon, and their Eſtates to Sequeſtrations (for under that Tyranny we were then, that the fayreſt deſires of being healed were judged the moſt peſtilential diſeaſe) rather then ſit ſtill in ſilence and ſee their Countries libertie and happineſs periſh. We will thank our Repreſentatives in the *Honourable houſe of Commons*, and all the *Noble Peers* for all that hath been done by them to turn again ſpeedily the captivity of our *Zion*: but we will bleſs, we will bleſs, we will bleſs thee, O Lord, and ſing prayſes to thy name, who haſt wrought in them all, and by them all, and more then all, *to turn again the Captivity of our Zion.*

And truly here I have a good mind to ſpeak a ſeaſonable word to our old Maſters, and their ſoothing flatterers, which have boaſted a long time ſo highly of their ſucceſsfull Providences, wherewith God owned (as they were pleaſed to ſay) the juſtneſs of their cauſe, and the righteouſneſſe of their wayes, as if God in theſe laſt daies had given men a new rule to meaſure the righteouſneſs of actions by the Events and ſucceſſes of Providence, as if theſe being caſt into the ſcale ſhould outweigh the clear rule of his ſacred Word. Hearken unto me a little calmly and patiently ye pleaders and boaſters of ſuch former Providences (for with mine own ears I have heard this

argument preſſed by ſome who are leaders of Diſci- after them, and reckoned themſelves paſtours of Churches) hearken unto me (I ſay) For I deſire to confronty our Providences ſo long boaſted of, with this late providence wherein the hand of God hath ſo manifeſtly appeared : I am not now half ſo angry with your deceitfull argument from Providences, as I formerly have been. For though I ſtill think, as I alwayes thought, that it fought againſt the honour of God in his revealed truth, yet I am now perſwaded, that it hath wrought much for the good of this *Nation* : For God hath been provoked thereby to vindicate the honour of his Providences the ſooner. Surely it was not this *Nations* unfeigned repentance of their ſins, but rather your high provocations of his juſtice, that hath inclined God to ſhew this great mercy to us in way of puniſhment to you. Though that great God ſaw our repentance to be too little, yet he ſaw the gloryings of thoſe whom he had uſed as his rod to be too high, and therefore for his own names ſake, not for ours, he hath wrought this ſtrange turn, to vindicate his own honour in his providences, that he might no longer be thought a patronizer of curſed villanies vayled with Hypocriſie.

I will allow you the glory of all thoſe ſucceſsfull providences to the height, as they have been ſet forth to the world in any declaration, with all the painted beauty of admirableneſs which hath been put upon them, exceeding (I fear) ſometimes the naked truth. I will allow all things that have fallen out ſucceſsfully that way, either for great victories, or ſtrange diſcoveries of dangerous plots, to have been the providences

videnceſ of Gods bleſſing them in their way (if it may be called a bleſſing to proſper in ſinfull waies and run on unpuniſhed) yea further I will acknowledge them all to have been juſt providences, and lye as low as the duſt under the hand of God in them (I mean juſt providences of his judgment to puniſh a ſinful, ingrateful, murmuring, perverſe, rebellious, riotous, hypocriticall, athieſticall *Nation*, altogether unworthy of the great bleſſings of God ſo freely beſtowed and ſo long continued to them) to puniſh them (I ſay) and laſh them with a ſcourge made of their own ſins, pride, wantonneſs, blindneſs, factions, zeal, cunning hypocryſie, *&c.* They were I confeſs providences of judgment, wherein the hand of God is to be owned as viſible. But as works of judgment are *alienum opus*, a kind of ſtrange work to God, not ſo pleaſing to his infinitely gracious Nature (like the drudgery work of his houſehold to ſcour away the filth thereof) ſo God uſually puts that work upon wicked men to do: yet ſo juſt a Maſter is God, that he will pay even thoſe ſervants which do his drudgery work a reward and wages that will beſt pleaſe them. *Nebuchadnezzar King* of *Babylon* (ſaith God) cauſed his Army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt *Tyrus*: every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled, yet had he no wages, nor his Army for *Tyrus*, for the ſervice that he ſerved againſt it. Therefore (ſaith the Lord God) Behold, I will give the Land of *Egypt* unto *Nebuchadnezzar King* of *Babylon*, and he ſhall take her multitude, and take her ſpoyl, and take her prey, and it ſhall be the wages for his Army. Thus the juſt God takes care to pay wages to the wickedeſt ones that ſerve him in the executing

Iſaih. 28. 21.

Ezek. 29. 18, 19.

tion of his juſt judgment, and our Saviour tells us
Mat. 6. 5. that even Hypocrites *habent mercedem ſuam*, They have their reward. But to execute ſuch providences of his judgment God uſually imploys only wicked men and their wickedneſs. A Jeroboam is the fitteſt to puniſh the ſins of a *Solomon* and the *Iſraelites*, as wicked a wretch as ever lived, who had lived in baniſhment for his rebellious ſpirit in the dayes of *Solomon*, whoſe Atheiſtical policy to ſecure himſelf, made no bones to overthrow all the true worſhip of God in *Iſrael*, under an hypocritical pretence of eaſing the people, who (contrary to Gods expreſs order) made Prieſts of the loweſt of the people, even any whoſe proſtitute baſeneſs would beſt ſerve his deſigns: and yet he had his reward, to reign in *Iſ-*
1 King. 12. *rael* and dye in peace, and his Son after him for a while. But after that God had payed him his full wages for his firſt ſervice, he made haſte to pay him in his Poſterity the due wages alſo for his horrible ſins. So God to execute his judgments upon *Ahab*, cauſeth a furious bloody *Jehu* to be anointed, as fit an inſtrument as any, who muſt have the heads of 70 Children of the King brought him for a morning preſent; yet God gave him his reward, yea expreſsly (and as it were a bill of his hand for the ſure payment of it) *Becauſe thou haſt done well in executing that which is right in mine eys, and haſt done unto the houſe of* Ahab *according to all that was in mine heart, thy Children to the*
2 King. 10.30. *fourth Generation ſhall ſit upon the Throne of* Iſrael: yet ſo far was God from approving *Jehu* and his doings (ſaveonlyashe ſerved him in the execution

of

of a judicial ſentence) that he threatned afterwards his vengeance upon his poſterity, for that very thing ſo far? as it was the wicked act of *Jehu*: *Yet a little while and I will avenge the bloud of* Jeſreel *upon the houſe of* Jehu : : They will, I hope hereafter glory no more in their wonderfull ſucceſſes and glorious fruits reaped by them. They were the Wages which God payed to wicked men for executing a juſt judgment upon a ſinfull, perverſe, rebellous Nation, not Arguments that God owned the righteouſneſſe of their cauſe. For our Gracious God being impatient, that his dark providences ſhould be abuſed to the impeachment of his ſacred truth clearly revealed, hath put an end to all ſuch vain gloryings. He hath defeated all thoſe foregoing providences of judgment, by a clear glorious providence of his mercy in bringing back our *Royall Soveraign* wonderfully to his throne in peace, and thereby very ſtrangely and unexpectedly turning again the Captivity of our *Zion*. And this is that which I would have you all ſtand a while gazing upon, to compare this providence, with thoſe formerly of judgment, wherein they boaſted ſo much of the viſible hand of God, that ye may ſee how clearly the hand of divine mercy is to be ſeen in this providence more then in the other. There were many ſteps laid for this providence to advance it ſelf upon (as before I have h inted) by wicked men, but all againſt their wills, and utterly contrary to their purpoſes. Hoſea 1. 4.

For had not the great Commanders of the Army, driving on ambitious and perfidious plots of their

own, pulled *Richard* out of the saddle, and then by their divisions and heart-burnings beginning there, after that by an hypocricall reviving of the good old Cause, and then by quarrelling quickly their old and new Masters, and thrusting them out of doors, and they again to revenge themselves calling up *Generall Monk* by an act of their own, had not they (I say) layed some foundations for this great mercy which God hath now wrought for us, I believe it might have been much further from us at this day. Now wherein is the hand of divine providence and mercy more cleerly seen, then when he causeth the greatest enemies in the world unto that work which he intendeth, to build the stage unawares and besides their intentions, upon which he will bring in then other Actors, that shall serve him wirtingly and freely in his own way to do his own work? Wherein, I say, doth the hand of God more clearly appear, then in taking the wise in their own craftiness, and in carrying the counsails of the froward headlong? Thus far the hand of God appeareth wonderfull in this mercy, in that he wrought by its greatest enemies to open a gate, at which he might bring in his worthy instruments to doe his work. And when God once begins to imploy them, we shall not find them, any of them to tread the least step awry out of Gods way to bring it about, but to do all in the way of religion, of reason, and of the known Lawes of our *Nation*; which is a thing worth the taking notice of, and gives us a fairer prospect of the gracious hand of God in this his wonderfull work of mercy: For to begin with the grand instrument

instrument whom it pleased God to use in this business, the wise and noble *Generall Monk*: Though many have been forward enough to cast their aspersions upon him (who themselves have been more perfidious then any *Jew*) as if he had played fast and loose in the trust which he had taken upon him, and betrayed his Masters: If all whatsoever they say tending that way be not utterly false both for matter and form, yet I think it may be made as clear as the Sun that the *Generall*, in that which he hath done, complying with his deat Countries, and our gracious *Soveraigns interest*, (and indeed with the interest of the *Protestant Religions* safety) hath done no more then what the conscience of a true, upright Christian and of a sincere honest man strictly bound him to. For suppose his Commission received from them (as some say) was expired, then his tye of relation was at an end, and there is no shew at all of any breach of trust: but suppose it were not, yet the odiousness of their last command which he punctually obeyed, and an utter abhorrence to obey any more such, or worse, (which he had reason enough to expect would be put upon him) was enough to discharge him from obeying such wicked Masters any further. Besides, what bond is so strict as that wherein every honest man is tyed to his native Country, unless it be our bond to the great God, who is indeed above all? Now he being (as we all conceive or ought in reason and charity to conceive) a wise and honest Gentleman, could not but see then, that his Country lay a bleeding, and that the *Protestant Religion* was at the very pits brink,

or else his eye-sight differed from almost all the wise, noble, and honest Gentlemen and others in the *Nation*: Though I should say nothing now of his ancient bond of loyalty and fidelity to his just and *lawfull Soveraign*, a far stricter bond then any wherein he could be tyed to his then supposed Masters: yet should any wise or conscientious Christian prefer the tye of a bond (if any such there were) unto a few men, who had no lawful power to bind him (but suppose it never so lawful) before his bond to his dear Country, the true Religion established in it, to his undoubted *lawful Soveraign* (*though an exile*; and before the *general* cryes of a whole *Nation* in extream distress, holding up their hands all to him, to implore his help? I do not speak all or any of this, barely aiming at the justification of the *Noble General*; I am not so low spirited in my ministrations to God to look no higher then men. He I know needs not my justification, he hath the approbation of the whole *Nation* to justifie him, yea and (I doubt not) something beyond all that, a good testimony from his own conscience. May he find a sutable reward both on earth and in heaven for that good service done to *Religion* and his Countrey: but my aim in this is higher, to clear Gods providence in the choyce of his instruments, and in his guidance of them to walk in an even path, as he useth to doe when he will work a great work of mercy; It is to shew that when God was pleased to set his own actors upon the stage, there is not to be found in them the least departing from the path of Religion, reason, order and law, which undoubtedly are the wayes

of

of God. Next for the many addreſſes made by this *Nation* (which were ſome great helps to the midwifery of this happy iſſue) whether they were made to *General Monk*, the *Speaker of the Houſe*, or the *City*, what were they but the dictates of Noble, wiſe religious, rational and peaceable men, ſeeking the beſt way imaginable, and the moſt orderly to heal a poor broken divided Nation? and though it were without all reaſon or conſcience extremeill reſented, yet they were reſolved rather to incurre the diſpleaſure of ſome perſons then powerfull and dreadfull, then to ſit ſtil ſilently with a finger ſealing their lips, and ſee their Countrey miſerably ſhipwrackt? Next for the Reſolutions of the City oppoſing with very great hazard to their Perſons and Eſtates the illegal taxes, leſt by their example they might lead on others to a cowardly betraying of their Countrey, what were they but the adviſed Counſels and well-grounded reſolutions of wiſe and pious men, having an eye to the publick welfare of their Countrey? upon what elſe ran all the deſires of the whole *Nation* but upon a full and free *Parliament* (which yet they ſought not tumultuouſly, but peaceably and orderly) a thing ſure very lawfull both before God and men for them to deſire, ſeeing their reaſon and ſenſe told them plainly, that for want of ſuch an aſſembly our miſeries and unſettledneſs did increaſe daily more and more, and that this only under God was the moſt likely means to heal and ſettle us?

Well, God in his mercies at laſt granted us our deſires in an orderly way. Our elections have been fairly made according to our Laws. Our Parlia-

ment by the blessing of God, (consisting as of old of all her noble and worthy Members) are met in peace, and sit in all honourable freedome (which hath not been for many years) without the least awe of military force or popular tumults. They with great unanimity and inexpressible joy have called home our lawfull and just *Soveraign*, and he is come in with safety and peace (God be blessed for ever for it) to reign over us and rule according to our known and excellent Laws, to the extraordinary comfort and joy of the whole *Nation*. In all this whole series of providences here have been no tumults or uproars of vulgar unruly people, but the orderly motions of the most wise, sober, and noble: here hath been no confused noyse of axes and hammers about this building, no garments rolled in bloud, no arms offensive or defensive, (but only in the way of suppression of a few desperate male-contents) no not so much as any factions, or sidings, or hot contests in counsels. All hath been carryed as if God had thought fit to shew himself to this *Nation*, as he did once to *Elijah*, in a soft still voice. We hear not so much as a Dog to move his tongue against it, or if any shall, he is worthy of a dogs death, though mercy may think fit to spare him. Here is, (O ye that used to boast of providences) here is a providence: ye that marvailed why the eyes of malignants (as they were most uncharitably called) were not opened with so many providences to see the justness of your cause; Will not this open your eyes? Will not this justifie our gracious *Kings* right to his hereditary *Throne*? We truly that measure

ſurethings not ſo much by providences which are various and unſearchable, but by principles and rules which are fixed and certainly known, are led by a more ſetled rule to acknowledge it by the laws of our *Nation* agreeable to the word of God, and contrived with excellent wiſdome: yet we heartily praiſe God, that his hand hath ſo wonderfully appeared in this providence of mercy, to defeat all the old Arguments wherewith weak people formerly were blinded, and to make us and the whole world ſee, that it is he who hath brought our gracious *King* with ſo much honour and peace to his *Throne*, and he who hath turned again the *Captivity of our Zion*. And this is the ſecond thing which I would have you conſider, that it is the Lord, who hath apparently, wonderfully, and unexpectedly wrought this great work of mercy for us.

Now the laſt thing which I have to move you in, is, that you would not only rejoyce in this great work of mercy with a naturall or common joy, not only with your mouths filled with laughter, but with a more religious and ſpirituall rejoycing. Let your tongues be filled with ſinging: ye have had many dayes of the firſt rejoycing already ſo highly expreſſed, that never was the like (I think) ſeen in this *Nation*, nor the like cauſe. Though this be commendable ſo far as it expreſſeth your loyall affections to your *Soveraign*, yet in all this ye are but as empty vines bringing forth fruit to your ſelves. There is little or no fruit to God in all this. Now therefore ſhew your ſelves to be fruitfull vines bringing forth fruit to God: Let your hearts be tuned and your *Applic.* 3.

Hoſea 10. 1.

tongues

tongues filled with ſinging forth due praiſes to God:
Luke 1. 44. And me thinks as *the babe ſprang in the womb of Elizabeth*, when ſhe heard the ſalutation of the mother of our Lord, ſo your hearts ſhould ſpring up into your tongues to celebrate the praiſes of God with all that is within you, becauſe our *gracious King* is come to ſalute this Land, and is ariſen to us as *a Sun with healing in his wings meek*, to heal all the breaches of this *Nation*. I am very ſhy of applying any places of Scripture (though but by way of meer alluſion) ſo as it might carry the leaſt ſhew of flattery to men, or of blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, yet the words of the Prophet *Zachary* are ſo fit for my purpoſe, that I think I may ſafely with a little change make uſe of ſome of them. *Rejoyce greatly, O Zion, ſhout O Daughter of Jeruſalem* &c. *Rejoyce greatly O England, ſhout O thou great Metropolis of England: Behold thy King cometh unto thee: he is juſt and having ſalvation*, he brings temporall ſalvation with him: he is *lowly* and meek, admirably temper'd with the ſweet graces of meekneſs, clemency, and royal forgiveneſs, he hath drawn a line of Royal and Chriſtian vertues by the Copy of Chriſt his Saviour. But let your rejoycing be in the Lord and to the Lord. *O ſing unto him a new ſong for he hath done marvellous things. Bleſs his name, ſhew forth his ſalvation from day to day.* But oh do not ſtain the Joy of this day with that which may give offence to the author of this mercy, or ſcandal to the pious conſorts in your joy, or reflect with ſorrow upon the King the object of your joy, or may cauſe ſorrow to your ſelves hereafter. Should ye expreſs the

Zachar. 9. 9.

Pſal. 98. 1.
Pſal. 96. 2.

publick

publick joy of Christians to the publick disgrace both of your joy and of your Christianity? Are those things seemingly on the Solemn days, which are neither seemly nor lawfull on any days? Take the Cup of Salvation and give thanks to the name of the Lord: but do not take those Cups which have proved Cups of damnation to thousands. *Be not drunk with wine wherein is excesse, but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to your selves in Psalms and Hymns and spirituall Songs, making melody in your heart to the Lord.* This would even vex the poor soul of me, who have been your minstrel this day to pipe to you this dance of rejoycing. If ye either fear God, or honour the King, let not your rejoycing in this mercy be soiled with the least durt of drunkenness or intemperance. I beseech you have a care to stop the mouths of *Sectaries* and *Schismaticks* (none of our Kings best friends) who begin to mutter among themselves and to others, that the King hath many drinking friends, but few praying friends, or God-praysing friends. For the love of God, for the love of our King, for the love of our Countrey, for the love of your own souls, & for the honour of our Religion, wipe away this blemish. O consider sadly, what was objected so lately, and God knows how truly, that the disorderly rudeness, profane oaths, drunkenness, and scandalous debauchedness of many of those who were imbarqued in the same bottome with his late *Majesty* of blessed memory, it was that they say, that shipwrackt the vessel and sunk the Pilot. It was sure for our sins, not for his own, that he was so smitten. Now seeing it hath pleased our Gracious God to

Siccine exprimetur publicum gaudium, per publicum, dedecus? Hæccine solemnes dies decent, quæ alios non decent? Tertul. in apologet.

Ephes. 5. 18, 19.

ſend us another Pilot, preſerved wonderfully both in body and ſoul from the malice of men and devils, and reſtored to us by ſuch a providence of mercy, as we could never have hoped for or dreamed of; who hath been preſerved ſo, as if God had hid him ſecretly in his Tabernacle, and brooded him under his own wings: and is brought home to us as if he had been carryed upon the wings of ſome Angels of peace and joy: now God hath given us him the deſire of our ſouls, the delight of our eyes, the joy of our hearts, and the crown of our rejoycing, God forbid, that ever our ſins, eſpecially the ſins of his friends who heartily love and rejoyce in him, ſhould ever hazard him to any new toſſings, or grieve his heart, or occaſion the leaſt word (though never ſo unjuſtly) to be liſped to his diſhonour. God forbid that our diſorders ſhould chill the ſpirits of Loyalty in any heart, or cauſe ſuch frowns of heaven ever to cloud this *Nation* again, as we have lately been under. But whileſt I am carryed with a cautious zeal, to prevent and quench all ſinfull rejoycing, I have almoſt forgot my direct aim to blow up and kindle the flames of religious rejoycing, and now I muſt not ſay much becauſe the Coverfeu hour is come and paſt a good while. In a word therefore and that of the Apoſtles, *Rejoice in the Lord alwaies brethren, and again I ſay, Rejoice.* Phil. 4. 4.

Rejoyce, but let it be in the Lord, and ſo rejoyce, not only at this preſent time, or once, but again, and again, not only with a ſhort blaze, but alwaies. For this mercy I hope will afford fewel for your rejoycing to make it a daily and conſtant rejoycing, fewel

fewell renewed like the oyl in the cruſe, and the meal in the barrel. Let your hearts rejoyce in this mercy of God, and all that is within you bleſs his name for it. Let your tongues utter your joy, and ſing forth the praiſes of God with thankſgiving; Grave it upon the palms of your hands, that when ye ſhall lift up your hands in the Sanctuary, God may ſee it engraven there, as a mercy which ye will never forget. Praiſe God for it in the cloſet of your hearts with inward ejaculations. Praiſe him at the door of your Tabernacles, let your tongues there bring forth and ſet forth the abundance which is in your hearts. Praiſe him upon the houſe top, proclaim his praiſes in *Zion*, ſo as they may eccho to all the *Nations* round about, and that it may be ſaid amongſt them, *The Lord hath done great things for England wherein ſhe rejoyceth*. Let your hearts praiſe him, let your lips praiſe him, let your lives praiſe him. Praiſed be thou, O great and gracious God, for ever and ever. *Bleſing honour, glory, and power be unto him, that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb for ever and ever, Amen.* Revel. 5. 13.

I think it very fit to cloſe the work of this day with a Pſalm or Hymn of praiſe, yet am I not ambitious to be the author or compoſer of it, as ſome of our ſingular new-fangled teachers affect, that they may be reckoned as *Aſaphs* in their Congregations. Holy *David* that ſweet ſinger of *Iſrael* hath furniſhed the Church of Chriſt ſufficiently for all purpoſes, and I ſhall only commend to you the 75 Pſalm to be ſung with grace in your hearts to the Lord.

Pſal. 75.

Unto thee (God) will we give thanks,
We will give thanks to thee &c.

The Thanksgiving aft r the Pſalm.

WEE praiſe thee O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord. All the earth doth worſhip thee. Heaven and earth are full of the Majeſtie of thy glory. Thou filleſt the Heavens with thy glory, the earth with thy goodneſſe. Let heaven and earth be filled with thy prayſes. Glory be to thee in the higheſt, on earth peace, good will towards men. Let the hearts and tongues of theſe three Nations be filled with thy praiſes, yea let all the Nations round about ſay, The Lord hath done great things for them. Praiſe the Lord, Kings of the earth, and all people, Princes and all Judges, young men and maidens, old men and children, praiſe ye the name of the Lord. Let high and low, rich and poor, let all degrees of men, from him that ſits upon the throne unto him that grinds at the mill, praiſe the name of the Lord. For his name alone is excellent, his Glory is above the earth and heaven. Let the King praiſe the name of the Lord, for it is he that giveth ſalvation to Kings, that delivered *Charles* his Servant from the hurtfull ſword. Let him praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath preſerved him wonderfully from the inquiſition of bloudy hunters, who hunted

haunted him to deſtroy his body, and from the charms and baits of ſubtile Charmers and Mountebanks that ſought to bewitch and poyſon his ſoul. Let him praiſe the name of the Lord who hath brought him back again, as a man in whom he took delight and pleaſure to ſet upon his fathers throne in peace, and hath made him to ariſe to this *Nation* as a Sunne with healing in his wings, and to appear as an Angel of peace. Let the Nobles of our Land praiſe the Name of the Lord, who hath brought them up again from under a buſhell to be ſet upon a Candleſtick, and ſhine with their antient luſtre and honour, and hath made them to become again as pillars of fire, who had been depreſt to be ſcarce pillars of a cloud. Let the commons praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath raiſed them up again to become a free and full Aſſembly, and hath filled them with a Spirit of wiſdome and unanimity, and hath ſet them above the awe of all military inſolency, above the regard of all popular tumults, and hath entruſted them with ſo bleſſed an opportunity of making themſelves and this Nation (through the bleſſing of God upon their counſails) an united and happy people. Let the Servants of the Lord who miniſter in his holy things, who have been beſpattered with all filthy revilings, and have entred into his Courts cloathed with ſack-cloth, mourning to ſee the deſolations, yea and abominations ſometimes to ſtand in the holy place, let them lift up their ſouls to praiſe the name of the Lord with all their might; let the high prayſes of God

be

be in their mouths, who hath in his compassion to his poor unworthy servants said, Take away these unfilthy Garments from my *Joshuahs*, who hath preserved the lives of his Servants that were reckoned as Sheep for the Slaughter, from the malicious aims of their violent and cruel enemies, and their portion for becoming a prey to the foxes. Let the great City praise the name of the Lord, who hath preserved her children from sitting in ashes, who hath lifted her up from pining sorrow to triumphing joy, and hath strengthned again the barrs of her gates, that no violent enemy (we hope) shall ever break them in sunder. Let those *who go down to the Sea, and do their businesse in great waters*, let them praise the name of the Lord, who hath smoothed their path over those rough billows to pass with lesse hazard and more comfort, and hath opened a door of commerce to them with more safety and honour. Let the Country-man praise the name of the Lord, who hath granted him *to sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree* in peace, and to call it his own with more confidence, whose hopes to be eased of his heavy oppression and burthens, are already a present ease to his spirit. Let all those who love the honour of the great God of heaven, and delight to see him worshipped in the beauty of holinesse, praise the name of the Lord: let all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and rejoice to see his honour rescued from the grosse misapprehensions and defamations of Hereticks, and from the bold blasphemies of Atheists, praise the

name

name of the Lord, who hath reſtored to us a Noble Defender of the antient, Catholick and Apoſtolick faith once delivered to the Saints: let all thoſe that love the peace and proſperity, and flouriſhing welfare of the Church of Chriſt in this Nation, praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath preſerved and given her another *Conſtantine*, and hath again raiſed up her hopes, that *Kings ſhall be her nurſing Fathers, and Queens her nurſing Mothers*: let all thoſe who delight in order, peace and unity, who prayed that all things in the Church may be *done decently and in order*, praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath layed a foundation for a real reformation, for the reſtoring of bleſſed unity, holy order, and the primitive Government in the Church, and hath raiſed up a deliverer to reſtrain thoſe who *break down the carved works in Gods Houſe with Axes And hammers*. Let thoſe who have groaned under the burthen of reproaches and oppreſſions, of diſtreſſes and perſecutions, who have *had tryall of their cruell mockings, who have taken joyfully the ſpoyling of their goods*; let them praiſe, and again praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath raiſed up a deliverer for them, a deliverer who holds forth his arm to gather them, and crieth to them, *Come unto me and I will eaſe you*. Let all thoſe that deſire to ſail through the Sea of their mortality in the calm of tranquillity and peace, that love the ſweetneſs of living under ſetled and juſt laws, and under ſuch a Prince as keeps them himſelf, and compelleth others to keep them, let them praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath given them their deſires, or at

leaſt

leaſt full hopes of them into their boſomes: Let thoſe who delight to pay their debts to the true owners, their obedience to the juſt claimers, honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute is due, let them praiſe the name of the Lord, who hath freed us from the heavy yoak of Uſurpers, to whom the paying of tribute was ten times heavier then the tribute it ſelf. Let all thoſe who rejoyce to have their innocence ſhielded from arbitrary violence and injuſtice, their Engliſh liberty from Turkiſh ſlavery, their lives from pretended High courts of Juſtice, their conſciences from helliſh chains, praiſe the name of the Lord. Let every one whoſe heart cleaveth firmly to the Proteſtant Religion, every one that breatheth with a true Engliſh ſpirit, ſay, The Lords name be praiſed for ever. Praiſe thou the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me bleſs his holy name. *Amen, Amen.*

Soli Deo gloria in ſecula ſeculorum.

THE END.

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